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I have but little information as to the installation (*fakanofo*) of the Tui Kanokupolu. The place of installation (*fakanofo anga*) seems anciently to have been at Kanokupolu, Tongatabu Island, where a special tree served as the back rest of the new appointee. The crux of the appointment ceremony is the serving of the kava to the new incumbent, for it is then that his new name or title is publicly spoken. When the kava is ready the matapule Motuapuaka calls: "Omi ia ki he ni maa Tupou!" (Bring it here for Tupou!) This is unlike the procedure in the ordinary kava ceremony.

West (62, pp. 58, 59) describes the appointment of the Tui Kanokupolu George I as follows:

> The day appointed was the 4th of December, 1845; and, accordingly, the chiefs from various parts of Tonga, Haabai, and Vavau, assembled in state. A few of the Tonga chiefs were still Heathens. Among these were Nuku, Maafu, Tubou-leva, Tugi, and several others; but all parties appeared to approve heartily of the measure. The company was select. None were allowed to go near, in order to stare, or to walk about. To prevent such conduct, a Fijian, dressed, and blackened, according to the custom of his country, walked to and fro as the guard of the ceremony, armed with club and spear. [See account of installation of the present Tui Kanokupolu in 1918, page 94.] The day was very fine, and the gathering of the noted politicians and warriors of the land, under the magnificent trees, which have stood for ages on the sward of Bagai, presented a most interesting sight.
>
> The ceremony consisted simply in publicly calling out the future official title of the king, in a *kava*-meeting; that is to say, a meeting where a preparation of kava-root is diluted and drunk by the persons assembled, according to certain well-established rules of etiquette and precedence.
>
> Two chiefs sat, one on either side of the king elect. These were two of the *matuas*, or "fathers" of the land. Their office was to relieve the king, and to act on his behalf. The names of the officiating chiefs were Motua-buaka and Lauaki. The others ranged themselves on either side, in order of rank, and forming a large circle, outside of which, and in front of the king, the bulk of the commoners were seated. The kava being prepared, several chiefs addressed the assembly, before it was served out. Afterwards Motua-buaka delivered an oration explaining the important object of their assembling. The king then addressed them also. Immediately he had finished, his kava was poured into a dish; and then Motua-buaka proclaimed aloud that that was the kava of Taliai-Tubou Tuikanokubolu.

The Appointment of the Present Tui Kanokupolu

The present Tui Kanokupolu and the sole ruler of Tonga is Charlotte Mafileo Veiongo. She is the second woman to bear the title, the first being the luckless Tupoumoheofo. As the head of the constitutional government of Tonga, Charlotte was proclaimed queen within a few hours after the death of her father, George II, but her appointment to the office of Tui Kanokupolu did not take place until October 9, 1918, following a six months' period of mourning. The following description is abstracted from the account of an anonymous eye witness (49):

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(Calla Filatonga) and the god Fatafehi (66, pp. 276, 277; 19, vol. 1, p. 403), whom I could not identify. All informants interviewed denied the existence of any deity with the name Fatafehi.

Tangaloa

Tangaloa, the sky god, is regarded in Vavau as being the deity who hauled up the Vavau group, his fish hook catching in what is now the island of Hunga (41, vol. 1, p. 271). The attribution by the Vavau people of this great act to Tangaloa instead of Maui is perhaps due to some special development of Tangaloa worship in Vavau. Tangaloa Tufunga, though said not to be a god of Niuatoputapu, is the patron of carpenters elsewhere in Tonga.

Maui

The Maui were characterized by one informant not as gods but as men, and they are believed to appear sometimes as men. In other words, they are really culture heroes who correspond better to the designation of demigod than of god. According to Maatu of Niuatoputapu, Maui is not credited with having benefited that island. He is, however, reputed to have drawn up successively the islands of Ata, north of Tongatabu, and Tongatabu with all of its associated islands, then Lofanga and the other Haapai islands, and lastly the Vavau group (38, p. 113). There are several places in the Tongatabu and Vavau groups which have tales connecting them with the exploits of the Maui. At Toloa, Tongatabu, certain breakers are said to represent the great fowl (*moa*) wounded by Maui, who hurled stones at it, as it flew from Eua. Thus, when a wave approaches the shore and breaks only in part it is said to be the fowl approaching. The part of the wave which is breaking is called the good wing of the bird. The part which does not break is said to be the broken wing of the bird, which has been struck by Maui's missile.

There is a definite localization of tales about Maui in Eua Island and in the Vavau group, seemingly drawing upon two separate sets of tales, which in modern times have been more or less amalgamated. In Eua, Maui Kisikisi and his father and mother are said to have lived at Haatua. At that place there is a large stretch of ground with a deep depression which is called the Matalanga-a-Maui. The tale recounts that the father chided Kisikisi for not working, whereupon the boy in anger seized his great digging stick, plunged it into the ground and worked it back and forth, shaking Eua terribly. His father ordered him to desist lest he upset the island, and Kisikisi expostulated at the unequal treatment he received, one time hearing complaint because he did no work, and then hearing further complaint as soon as he started to make a garden. In exasperation he cast his digging stick over the cliff Le-

1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

THE ADVENT OF CHRISTIANITY

Thomson (54, pp. 200-203) has well portrayed the situation in Tonga during the period of the conversion to Christianity. As he points out, resistance to the spread of Christianity came not from the heathen priests but from the chiefs, who apparently realized that Christianity struck at the root of their time-honored privileges.

I shall not attempt to trace the spread of Christianity but shall merely refer to certain interesting incidents in connection with its introduction—incidents which to some extent reflect the religious attitude of the Tongans.

As far back as the fifteenth century there is traditional record of skepticism as to the power of the gods. I refer to the tradition concerning the Tui Tonga Kauulufonua I, who cried, "The gods are fools!" when he was wounded in battle. Mariner dwells upon the skepticism and irreligion of his patron Ulukalala II, who even went so far as to order the priest of his god strangled, but who was prevented from having the execution carried out by his own sudden death, an event which no doubt restored the prestige of the gods in the minds of many Tongans.

Stories are current that certain of the old gods gave oracles concerning the advent of Christianity and the destruction of the old order. At Pea, Tongatabu, it is related that the house of one god miraculously disappeared overnight, because the deity was provoked over the coming of the new religion.

The narrative of Peter Vi (3) refers particularly to the part taken by Taufaahau (afterwards King George I) in the destruction of the heathen places of worship. That he was actuated entirely by Christian motives seems unlikely. In any event, murders and wholesale slaughters of the heathen were indulged in in the name of Christianity. The fortresses of Ngeleia and Hule were captured and their inhabitants slaughtered (pp. 215, 216). The events related below refer to the period just before and just after 1830. Taufaahau was then the Tui Haapai. He had not yet succeeded to the rule of Vavau, or to the rule of Tongatabu. About 1829 the following event took place:

> It was said that Taufa, the Tui Nomuka, was coming to Malupo (of Uiha Island) to get reeds for making spears for Tuita and Lolohea. Taufaahau was to be held while they killed the Christians. Taufaahau was informed of this on the day of the feast of the gods called Tautaulotufonua. The feast was held at the gates of the fortress and boxing and wrestling games, etc., were held. [The killing of the Christians was prevented.]
>
> There were many priests and god houses at Haapai, and Taufaahau said to Peter Vi and some others, "Let us go to the priestess of the god house at Holopeka." When we arrived there we found that she had gone to Faleloa. As we went along the road the king rooted up a big banana plant and carried it along. Peter Vi asked: "What is that for?"
>
> Taufaahau replied, "Something to hit the god with."

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[ca. 1830]

and became a priest of the gods." Just then a report was brought that Fakailoatonga was dying, and I still gave Ulukalala advice. 797 798

When it was afternoon I told him, "I will go now to the sea, while you get ready your night dance," and he replied,

"All right."

And that night while the dance was being held Fakailoatonga died, and his body was taken to Makave. The next morning Taufaahau called me: "Come Peter, and we will go to the chief's funeral at Makave." And we went. After the funeral of the chief we went to plait baskets for carrying the sand to the grave.

The Vavauans embraced Christianity with great fervor. In 1835, there was an outburst at Haakoka, Vavau; the people, becoming frenzied with religious fervor, ran amuck. Many persons were killed. 797 786 579

Undoubtedly the Tongans of to-day are among the most devout of Christians, having accepted Christianity with a very full faith. The following quotation from a manuscript by Mrs. Rachel Tonga, a devout Methodist, is typical of the faith which they hold. After describing the ancient belief as to the Water of Life called Vaiola, Mrs. Tonga proceeds: "But it is all nonsense. The only healing water is the blood of Jesus. Whoever believes in him will be healed. Whatever may be our sins, if we believe in his blood we will become healed." 795 771

HISTORICAL CONCLUSION

In this conclusion no attempt is made to summarize the contents of this work. The probable periods of Tongan history are set forth below in tabular form. It seems to me that four periods are distinguishable. The first is a pre-dynastic period before the coming to the throne of the dynasty of Tui Tonga, which terminated in 1865. The second period, which I have called the classic period, for during this period Tongan culture developed distinctive features, is further characterized by the expansion of the Tongan dominions. The third period is one marked by the decline and disintegration of the Tui Tonga's power The fourth period is one of renaissance and European acculturation, with the Tui Kanokupolu supreme. The earlier dates given in the tabulation are only approximate. 175 105

I. Predynastic Period (before 950 A. D.; possibly beginning about 500 A. D.).
   Shell heaps probably the only cultural remains, though these continue to be formed down to our day.
   No legends that can be definitely connected.
   Shadowy reference to displacement of early rulers by Ahoeitu about 950 A. D.

II. Classic Period (950-1450).
   Tui Tonga I (Ahoeitu)—23 (Takalaua).
   Ahoeitu (1): Of divine origin.
   Tuitatui (11): Fijian and Samoan contacts prominent.
   Takalaua (23): Assassinated about 1450.
   Achievements of period: (a) Subjugation of Samoa, etc.; colonies probably established in Ellice, Tikopia, etc. (b) Development, or appearance, of great terraced stone tombs. (c) Trilithon erected.

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not enquire into such particulars as he otherwise would have done: but the most wonderful part of the story is, that the whole track of ground through which the body was dragged had ever since been destitute of grass, as well as the spot on which it lay for two or three days. It was this circumstance, principally, that engaged Mr. Mariner to visit the place, and there, indeed, he found the bare track of ground from the beach to near the place where they say he was buried; nor has it much the appearance of a beaten path, besides that it leads to and from places, where there are but few inhabitants: at the termination of this track there is a bare place, lying transversely, about the length and breadth of a man.

However trivial such relations may appear in themselves, they are worth mentioning, with a view to contrast them with the accounts given by credible travellers, that they may tend to prove how far the statements of the natives may be depended on; besides which, in some instances, as in the present, they shew what kind of superstitions they are subject to (for another instance of this kind, see the affair of the missionaries, p. 61). As to the bare track, although it may not now have much the appearance of a beaten path, owing to the grass having grown irregularly on either side, yet there

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771 824 is every probability that, some years back, it was such, in a great degree, though now little trod: but those who are willing to keep up the spirit of the wonderful have attributed it to this supernatural cause. Superstitions, in all countries, are much of the same kind; we have similar ones in our own; but, whilst men of cultivated minds disregard them, the vulgar in general most firmly give their belief, particularly where there is some sensible object that appears to corroborate the tale *.

634 276 Whilst Finow was yet at the Hapai islands, he often held conversations at his cava parties with Filimóëátoo, respecting the state of affairs at Tonga. Among other things, this 177 484 chief related, that a ship from Botany Bay had touched there about a week before he arrived, on board of which there was a Tonga chief, Páloo Máta Móigna, and his wife, Fataféhi, both of whom had formerly left Tonga (before the death of Toogoo Ahoo), and had resided some years at the Fiji islands, from which place they afterwards went along with one Selly (as they

* I observe that some readers have looked upon the above explanation as if I had considered it perfectly satisfactory in regard to all the phenomena: this I did not intend: I have merely ventured to state what I consider to be the probable cause of the long track. As to the short transverse one, suffice it to say, that I do not believe it to have been occasioned by poor Norton's body.

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sented before the house, as an offering to the god, that he might spare her life for the sake of Finow. On these occasions, one or other of the matabooles, and sometimes two or three in succession, made an address to the invoked divinity (for he had no priest), to the following purpose: "Here thou seest assembled Finow "and his chiefs, and the principal matabooles "of thy favoured land" (the Tonga islands, taken collectively), "thou seest them humbled "before thee. We pray thee not to be mer- "ciless, but spare the life of the woman* for "the sake of her father, who has always been "attentive to every religious ceremony†: but "if thy anger is justly excited by some crime "or misdemeanor committed by any other of "us who are here assembled, we entreat thee "to inflict on the guilty one the punishment "which he merits, and not to let go thy ven- "geance on one who was born but as yester- "day. For our own parts, why do we wish to "live but for the sake of Finow; but if his "family is afflicted, we are all afflicted, inno-

[755] [782] [593] [634] [565]

* On *such occasions* they call the person for whom they intercede, however young, either a *man*, or *woman*, according to the sex, although they have appropriate words to express *boy*, *girl*, and *child*. [195]

† Finow was noted for his want of religion: the above words, therefore, were used as mere form, and because no one dared to say otherwise. [171]

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634 clamation) "no wonder that he died! a chief
661 "with such dreadful intentions!" Mr. Mariner
761 then stated, in addition, that he had heard the
784 king say more than once, (a few days before he died,) "How unmindful are the gods of my "welfare!—but no! it is not the decree of the "gods in general;—it is to that vexatious Too- "bo Totai, that I owe my misfortunes; he "does not exert himself for my good: but wait "a little, I'll be revenged! his priest shall not "live long*!"

634 The prince and his uncle, Finow Fiji, next
661 held a consultation together respecting their mode of conduct, particularly in regard to certain chiefs, who were suspected of not being well disposed towards their family. Finow Fiji, for his own part, said, that he had no other wish than to coincide in whatever should seem likely to establish the peace and welfare of *Hafooloo How* (the name given to Vavaoo and all its neighbouring small islands, taken collectively), and that the only method of doing this would

[771] [776] * Finow had often stated to Mr. Mariner his doubts that there were such beings as the gods:—he thought that men were fools to believe what the priests told them. Mr. Mariner expressed his wonder that he should doubt their existence, when he acknowledged that he had more than once felt himself inspired by the spirit of *Moomóe* (a former *How* of Tonga): "True!" replied the king, "there may be gods; but what the priests tell us about their power over mankind, I believe to be all false."

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634 tain degree, justifiable, as examples to keep
157 others in terror: a method undoubtedly not
727 the best, but such as may be easily overlooked
in a state of society like that in which he
[685] lived *. As another example to throw into the

634 * Finow was not considered wantonly cruel, like Toogoo
157 Ahoo: his severe sentences were thought necessary, by
727 others as well as himself, to place his new authority as king
upon a secure foundation. It is Mr. Mariner's opinion, in
661 the impartiality of which I have reason to place the utmost
confidence, that had Finow been less watchful, bold, decided,
and severe, Toobó Toa would soon have shortened his reign;
or, if *he* had not, Voona would probably have dethroned
him, on his return from Hamoa, in revenge for his former
loss of Vavaoo: but his conduct was so unsearchable, his
discovery of conspiracies was in a manner so instinctive,
and his revenge so prompt, bold, and decisive, that the peo-
ple looked up to him with extraordinary admiration, and
pronounced him to be truly a great chief, worthy to be a
king. The most judicious of the natives, while they con-
sidered his conduct as severe, declared it to be dictated by
true policy. If therefore his severity, instead of being con-
sidered either criminal or cruel by his own people, was on
the contrary thought worthy of admiration as becoming a
great, politic, and wise chief *so circumstanced*, I think I am
warranted in saying that it "was perhaps on all occasions
[771] to a certain degree justifiable." Finow, beyond all doubt,
was greatly to be condemned, but not for his cruel severity:
it was his disrespect for the gods that constituted his great
crime, a crime of such a magnitude that his people were
astonished to see the gods favour his enterprizes. It is ex-
ceedingly difficult to judge of such a character without enter-
ing fully into the Tonga sentiments and habits. These re-
marks are made in consequence of some observations on the
above passage in the Quarterly Review, No. 33, p. 25.

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well what he had to say: persuasion hung upon his lip, and the flow of his eloquence was such, that many of his enemies were afraid to listen to him, lest they should be led to view the subject in a light prejudicial to their interests.

Although, in matters of consequence, he always seemed to weigh well what he had to say, in subjects of minor importance he was very quick in reply: his voice was loud, not harsh but mellow, and his pronunciation remarkably distinct. When he laughed, which was not on trifling occasions, it was so loud as to be heard at an incredible distance; and with a very strange noise preceding it, as if he were hallooing after somebody a long way off, and the same kind of noise as he always made when in a passion: and this was peculiar to him. When in his house, however, giving orders about his domestic arrangements, his voice was uncommonly mild, and very low.

In regard to his sentiments of religion and policy, they may be pretty well gathered from sundry passages in the narrative:—with respect to his religion in particular, it is difficult to say whether he had any: it is certain that he disbelieved most of the oracles delivered by the priests; for although he conceived that they were really inspired, when they appeared to be so, yet he thought that frequently a great deal

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of what they declared to be the sentiments of the god was their own invention; and this particularly in regard to what did not suit his own sentiments. He never, however, declared his opinion of these things in public; though he expressed them, very decidedly, to Mr. Mariner, and some of his intimate friends. He used to say that the gods would always favour that party in war, in which there were the greatest chiefs and warriors. He did not believe that the gods paid much attention in other respects to the affairs of mankind; nor did he think they could have any reason for doing so,—no more than man could have any reason or interest in attending to the affairs of the gods. He believed in the doctrine of a future state, agreeably to the notions entertained by his countrymen; that is, that chiefs and matabooles, having souls, exist hereafter in Bolotoo, according to their rank in this world; but that the common people, having no souls, or those only that die with their bodies, are without any hope of a future existence.

Such was the character of the late How of the Tonga islands,—a character not without a considerable share of merit; in some respects not unworthy imitation, and in every respect highly interesting.—We have pourtrayed it at some length, because such characters do not

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CHAPTER XVIII.

Enumeration of the principal notions on which the religion of Tonga is founded—Traditionary account of the island of Bolotoo—Division of the gods into six classes—Names and attributes of the principal original gods—Souls of Chiefs—Souls of Matabooles—Other Hotooas or inhabitants of Bolotoo—Hotooa Pow, or mischievous gods—The god that supports the earth—Observations upon death—Origin of the habitable earth, or rather of the islands of Tonga—Popular traditions respecting the original inhabitants of Tonga—Remarks—Another tradition respecting the same subject—Fiji story respecting an island of immortal women—Popular account of the origin of Turtles—General notion of the earth, sky, and heavenly bodies—Notions respecting the human soul and animal life—Ideas concerning the liver—The soul's immortality—Notions of the Fiji people in regard to the soul.

THE RELIGION of the Tonga islands rests chiefly upon a belief of the following notions.

1. That there are Hotooas, gods, or superior beings, who have the power of dispensing good and evil to mankind, according to their merit, but of whose origin they form no idea, rather supposing them to be eternal.
2. That there are other Hotooas or gods, viz. the souls of all deceased nobles and matabooles, who have a like power of dispensing good and evil, but in an inferior degree.

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3. That there are besides several Hotooa Pow, or mischievous gods, whose attribute is never to dispense good, but petty evils and troubles, not as a punishment, but indiscriminately to whomsoever it may be, from a pure mischievous disposition.

4. That all these superior beings, although they may perhaps have had a beginning, will have no end.

5. That the world also is of doubtful origin, and co-existent with the gods; the *solid* sky, the heavenly bodies, and the ocean, being pre-existent to the habitable earth, and that the Tonga islands were drawn out of the water by the god Tangaloa, whilst fishing with a line and hook.

6. That mankind, according to a partial tradition, first came from Bolotoo, the chief residence of the gods, an island to the northwestward, and resided at the Tonga islands, by command of Tangaloa: they consisted of two brothers, with their wives and attendants, whose original they pretend to know nothing about.

7. That all human evil is inflicted by the gods upon mankind, on account of some neglect of religious duty, either in the person or persons who suffer the inflictions, or in the egi or chief whom they serve; and the contrary of good.

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8. That all *egi* or nobles have souls, which exist hereafter in Bolotoo, not according to their moral merit, but their rank in this world, and then they have power similar to the original gods, but less. The matabooles also go to Bolotoo after death, where they exist as matabooles or ministers to the gods, but they have not the power of inspiring priests: the mooas, according to the belief of some, also go to Bolotoo, but this is a matter of great doubt. But the tooas, or lower class of people, have no souls, or such only as dissolve with the body after death, which consequently ends their sentient existence.

9. That the human soul during life is not a distinct essence from the body, but only the more etherial part of it, and which exists in Bolotoo, in the form and likeness of the body, the moment after death.

10. That the primitive gods and deceased nobles sometimes appear (visibly) to mankind, to warn or to afford comfort and advice: that the primitive gods also sometimes come into the living bodies of lizards, porpoises, and a species of water snake, hence these animals are much respected; their coming into porpoises is supposed to be for the purpose of taking care of vessels, &c.

11. That the two personages at the Tonga

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771 islands known by the name of Tooitonga and
776 Veachi are descendants in a right line from
643 two chief gods, and that all respect and ve-
565 neration is therefore due to them.

771 12. That some persons are favoured with the
793 inspiration of the gods, by an actual existence
787 of the god for the time being, in the person (the priest) so inspired, who is then capable of prophesying.

771 13. That human merit or virtue consists chiefly
577 in paying respect to the gods, nobles, and aged persons; in defending one's hereditary rights; honour, justice, patriotism, friendship, meekness, modesty, fidelity of married women, parental and filial love, observance of all religious ceremonies, patience in suffering, forbearance of temper, &c.

[184] 14. That all rewards for virtue or punishments for vice happen to men in this world only, and come immediately from the gods.

771 15. That several acts acknowledged by all ci-
673 vilized nations as crimes, are under many circumstances considered by them as matters of indifference, such as revenge, killing a servant who has given provocation, or any body else, provided it be not a very superior chief or noble; rape, provided it be not upon a married woman, or one to whom respect is due, on the score of superior rank, from the

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perpetrator; theft, except it be consecrated property. 771

16. Omens are considered direct indications of the gods to mankind: charms or superstitious ceremonies to bring evil upon any one are considered for the most part infallible, as being generally effective means to dispose the gods to accord with the curse or evil wish of the malevolent invoker; to perform these charms is considered cowardly and unmanly, but does not constitute a crime. [673] [787] [789]

The Tonga people universally and positively believe in the existence of a large island, lying at a considerable distance to the north-westward of their own islands, which they consider to be the place of residence of their gods, and of the souls of their nobles and matabooles. This island is supposed to be much larger than all their own islands put together, to be well stocked with all kinds of useful and ornamental plants, always in a state of high perfection, and always bearing the richest fruits and the most beautiful flowers according to their respective natures; that when these fruits or flowers are plucked, others immediately occupy their place, and that the whole atmosphere is filled with the most delightful fragrance that the imagination can conceive, proceeding from these immortal plants; 772 [775] [824] [825]

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his situation. He has no house dedicated to him. When an earthquake happens, it is supposed that this god, feeling himself in an uneasy posture, is endeavouring to turn himself about; and, on such occasions, the people give loud shouts and beat the ground with sticks, which is supposed to have the effect of making him lie still. They have no idea of what he lies on, nor ever make any enquiries about it; and say it would be folly to do so, for who can go there and see?

Such is the account they give of their gods, and the respect which they pay to these imaginary beings is so great and so universal, that scarcely any instance is known of downright impiety; and indeed they have very strong motives to keep them in proper order in this respect, founded in their firm and fixed belief, that all human miseries are the consequent punishment of crimes, and that acts of atrocity are most frequently punished by disease and death; and this risk of premature death among the tooas in particular must have a frightful aspect, as they consider the termination of life as the termination of their existence altogether. With respect to the chiefs indeed, to whom death is only a change to a better life, this apprehension may not take quite so strong a hold; nevertheless, life is always sweet, there are al-

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Foreigners are exempted from all tributes, except those that are for the purpose of religious ceremonies, even though they occupy considerable plantations at Tonga: they also readily excuse foreigners for not according with their customs, or not paying respect to their gods; because, say they, they have gods of their own, and are not governed by our divinities. When any one is about to eat, he always shares out what he has to those about him, without any hesitation, and a contrary conduct would be considered exceedingly vile and selfish. At meals strangers or foreigners are always shewn a preference, and females are helped before men of the same rank, because they are the weaker sex and require attention. A number of such instances might be given if necessary, but these, it is presumed, are sufficient to demonstrate that the people of the Tonga islands are not only not selfish, but admire liberality, and are practically liberal.

In such a kind of mind as we have been describing, we may readily suppose that the sentiments of veneration and respect are felt to a considerable degree; and, accordingly, every

manded; they love to consider them as presents, and this sufficiently demonstrates the universal admiration of the sentiment of liberality. There are no officers appointed to see that the people pay their due quantity.

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818
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mark of such sentiments is shewn to the gods, to chiefs, and aged persons. Actual impiety is little known among them: Finow (the late king) was, indeed, an impious character in many respects, but we have already seen how much the people wondered at his success. The same king was one day prevented from going out upon an expedition against the enemy, by one of his chiefs happening to sneeze, which is considered a bad omen. Finow, on a sudden, greatly exasperated, with raised arms, and clenched fists, exclaimed, in a loud voice, "Crowd, all ye gods, to the protection of these "people, nevertheless I will wreak my ven- "geance on them tenfold!" But this impious exclamation was heard with horror by every body. There is no necessity to dwell upon the respect that is universally paid to chiefs, for it forms the stable basis of their government; and, of course, cannot be allowed to be infringed upon: it is, in short, a superior sacred duty, the non-fulfilment of which it is supposed the gods would punish almost as severely as disrespect to themselves. The great veneration which they pay to aged persons is a very amiable trait in their character; and, though it is now kept up by old habit and custom, it must, no doubt, have arisen in the beginning from notions which would do honour to the most civilized

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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674 685 (558) (114) as if to expect the worst. But as far as we could judge, the girl was as honest as anyone else in the village. She is likely to suffer all her life, however, from a blackened character and may find marriage difficult because every possible bridegroom's parents will be unfavourable to her.

We heard of no cases of stealing from the bush-plantations though they are necessarily left unguarded for many hours out of each twenty-four.

674 683 578 There are no records of crime of violence against persons in the village, nor of such violent activities as brawling, fist fights, or knifings.

RELIGION

771 829 No account of village life today can possibly be complete without some reference to the attitude of the villagers to religion, to the Christian religion, that is, as it is interpreted to the villagers by the various Christian churches. The Christian religion has become an integral part of village culture, as intimately a part of the culture as the pagan religion was to the Tongans before European contact.[29] For the villager today, there is no half-hearted acceptance, no perfunctory belief, no sham ritual. Christianity is for him a red-blooded Fundamentalism that permeates every aspect of his believing life. If it does not always turn the villager into a classic Christian as far as action is concerned, his only excuse, one supposes, can be that Christians in this sense are, and always have been, few and far between. As far as belief in the mythos of Christianity is concerned, the villager need yield to none, white Christians not excepted. This could be proved by many facts: by descriptions of church attendance, church services; by reproducing verbatim some

[29] What is known of the religion of aboriginal Tonga has been ably summarized by Gifford (*Tongan Society*, pp. 287-349). One is struck by the fact, in studying Pangai today, that the villagers seem to know practically nothing of ancient Tongan religion or its practices, nor do they appear to show the slightest interest in this religion. In a very real sense, there is no need for any such knowledge or interest. Christianity presents to the villager an eminently satisfactory solution to the problems that concern his relation to the supernatural world. Knowledge of ancient belief is a luxury that is reserved for the few Tongans who have better access to information about the ancient society than the Pangai commoner.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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of the interminable religious discussions that are a feature of many *kava*-circles; by a study of dreams; by consideration of the form into which some of the fundamental anxieties of the culture are cast.

A brief extract from some of our field notes will be sufficient to indicate the way in which religion has become part and parcel of village life. We were talking casually one night with a group of men about the use of omens and other minor magical practises common in our own society. Then we asked for the Tongan equivalents of these folk-beliefs. All the men denied knowledge of any. Sesoni summed up their attitude by saying with emphasis and with unanimous approval, that when the villager is worried today, he prays to God to solve all his difficulties. He has no need for magical activities when prayer is the only thing that can help him. The important thing about this statement is not that the villager never observes magical *tapu*, but that he has come to look upon the Christian religion as an explanation for all of life's problems and difficulties.

It is unnecessary to consider evidence of the Tongans' belief in Christianity in detail.[30] Much of it stands in the records of Tongan church history for all to read. All that we do here is to suggest some further facets of the religious life of the village.

Table 14A shows that Pangai has a large Roman Catholic membership as compared with kingdom membership. The kingdom as a whole is 88 per cent. Protestant. Pangai is 78 per cent. Protestant. We have no particularly valid explanation for this difference. The first three Protestant churches in this table all represent varieties of fundamentalist Wesleyanism whose doctrinal differences are very obscure to the white inquirer—so obscure in fact, that

[30] For some of this evidence, see Beaglehole, Ernest, "Psychic Stress in a Tongan Village." *Proceedings*, Sixth Pacific Science Congress (in press), where the attempt is made to show the fundamental conflict situations in the present day village culture. Since this paper was completed Dr. Lopdell has recorded particulars of two further cases of Tongans suffering from mental illness as the result of trying to solve apparently insoluble conflicts between Tongan custom and white economic patterns. The interesting point in this context is that the conflicts have been worked out in terms of religious symbolism and ideology.

A. [See category 116, p. 126--Analyst]

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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they probably represent not so much significant differences in the pursuit of spiritual truths but rather symbolic standards which served in the past and still serve today in the life of the village as catalytic agents in the obscure struggles of unusual personalities to secure expression in their conflicts with group-interests.

Church membership in Pangai is shown in the following table:

TABLE 14.—CHURCH MEMBERSHIP IN PANGAI.

Church	Membership					Per cent. village membership	Per cent. kingdom membership (Census 1931)
	Men	Women	Boys[31]	Girls	Total		
Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga	25	32	27	23	107	41	58
Free Church of Tonga	24	12	21	16	73	28	16
Church of Tonga	6	4	7	7	24	9	10
Roman Catholic Church	14	12	15	16	57	22	12
Other Churches[32]	—	—	—	—	—	—	4
Totals	69	60	70	62	261	100	100

That the Tongans have really believed in their religion in the sense of taking some doctrinal differences seriously, however, is shown by a brief glance at the religious history of the kingdom. The mission of the Wesleyan church was begun in 1822 and again in 1826. The mission of the Roman Catholic church began in 1842. Doctrinal differences between these two missions and between the missions and the still pagan Tongans, were inextricably mixed in the early wars of Tonga, particularly in the war of 1852 when the scattered islands were being united into one kingdom. The Tongan history-books stress the fact that this war was fought purely for political reasons and that religion had no part in it (as if politics and religion can be separated as neatly in the lives of men as they can by words on a printed page!). It is significant, however, that the king's army was composed mostly of Wesleyans while one of the strongholds this army

[31] Boys and girls, according to the classification of the church rolls, include those under the age of about sixteen years.

[32] "Other churches," of which there are none in Pangai, include the Church of England, the Church of the Latter Day Saints, and the Seventh Day Adventists. These three churches had a total kingdom membership in 1931 of 1,271 people.

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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for the villagers to find the money to repay this debt. Another basis for the inference, again according to local pastors, is that Pangai always lags far behind the other villages of comparable size in Vava'u when special collections are made for church purposes. It is difficult for the outsider to evaluate such judgments. Our own observations suggest that there is in Pangai a warmth of religious feeling and spiritual fervor that would be considered highly abnormal in countries with a longer Christian tradition behind them. On the other hand there is in Pangai a noticeable lack of what may be called civic and religious pride when this village is compared with some of the other villages in Vava'u, particularly other villages where the noble estate-owner is in residence and acts as a sort of dynamo in village life. The village overseer of Pangai, as has been noted before, is a good, plain, honest fellow, a Pangai man among his friends. None could possibly accuse him of having the energy of vaulting ambition, or the efficiency of a village-manager. From this viewpoint, therefore, Pangai is probably slack where civic pride is concerned, slack also when it comes to the matter of showing interest in one's church by contributions other than, or additional to, the ordinary quarterly dues.

SUNDAY SCHOOL

An attempt is made by church pastors to give the young training in religious matters through the institution of a Sunday school which meets once each week before the regular mid-morning church service. The instruction, given by the pastor, consists in the usual Bible readings and the learning of Bible texts. At the end of the year prizes are given to the best pupils. The names of these pupils are announced during church service, and their parents derive great satisfaction and pride from the awards. To show the form this satisfaction may take, the following notes from our field-diary are added:

When two of Koloamatangi's grandchildren (Koloa is the village overseer) received church prizes, he took the opportunity to give one of the biggest feasts in village memory. He slaughtered a bull to provide the principal relish and added to this large amounts of octopus, fish, and

13: Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1941
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these clothes at any other time. Clothing therefore is a blend of old and new, but when materials and clothing-styles are both considered, it is again difficult to say in any simple fashion whether current practice is more nearly related to aboriginal or European custom.

Finally, to take but one more example, there has been in the field of housing a transfer of both form and materials. In the village today one sees frame houses with iron roofs of European form, frame houses with iron roofs of Tongan form, and thatched houses of aboriginal form and materials. This refers only to dwelling- and sleep-houses. Separate cook-houses are uniformly of Tongan materials and form, while the privies are uniformly frame structures of European form. Is the present housing of the villager more European than Tongan as regards both form and materials? Again it is hard to give a simple answer.

Village attitudes in regard to both clothing and housing may perhaps be best understood partly as an expression of a substitution of new for old which, to use Parsons' phrase, gives "an old habit of mind a new expression" or uses "something new in accordance with something old."[34]

When we consider social and economic organization, answers are equally hard. At one end of the scale, treatment of disease is almost purely in terms of Tongan concepts and materials with such exception, for instance, as in the control of a typhoid outbreak when quarantine is enforced and European medical treatment often welcome, or in such surgical practice as the supercision of adolescent boys, where the tendency in the village is to expect such surgery to be carried out at the hospital in Neiafu. At the other end of the scale might be placed religion, where Christianity has been taken over lock, stock, and barrel, and there are relatively few survivals of either knowledge or belief in aboriginal religious forms. A Christian morality based on Biblical teaching has also become the accepted morality of the community.

[34] See Parsons, E. C., *Mitla, Town of the Souls*, Chicago, 1936, for a consideration of the role of this factor, among others, in culture-contact. Herskovits, M. J. has a brief but valuable discussion of this and other studies of acculturation in his book, *Acculturation*, New York, 1938.

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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797 presuming to speak to him in a standing posture,—a breach of discipline for which, if reprehensible, I was probable answerable, having encouraged the chief on all occasions to put himself on an equal footing with myself and the other officers. The missionaries seemed also to live much more apart from the natives than in Samoa, where free access is allowed to them at all times. Here, on the contrary, the gates of the enclosures were not merely kept closed, but sometimes locked,—a precaution against intrusion which, although perhaps warranted in some degree by the custom of fencing their grounds, and by the greater propensity on the part of these people to theft, I never saw adopted elsewhere, and which must operate unfavourably to that freedom of intercourse so necessary to the establishment of perfect confidence between the pastors and their flock.

If the missionaries were overbearing to the chiefs even at that early date, a light is thrown upon the curious persistence with which some of them clung to paganism. [77] The ancient beliefs of the Polynesians never formed a system of religion, and, to compare small things with great, as the way was already smoothed for Christianity by the growing scepticism of the Roman empire, so were the minds of the Tongan chiefs ripe to seize upon any religious creed with a more logical foundation than the worn-out mummeries of their own ancestor-worship. 793 771 Perhaps the ancient priestcraft, with its exactions of votive offerings and its hysterical oracles, would have shared the fate of its forgotten predecessor, phallus-worship, had the 793 priests been less politic and tactful. But they knew that 565 the existence of their order depended upon the union of [787] Church and State; and their oracular utterances, plastic as those of Delphi, were directed always to upholding the privileges of the chiefs. Between the two orders there

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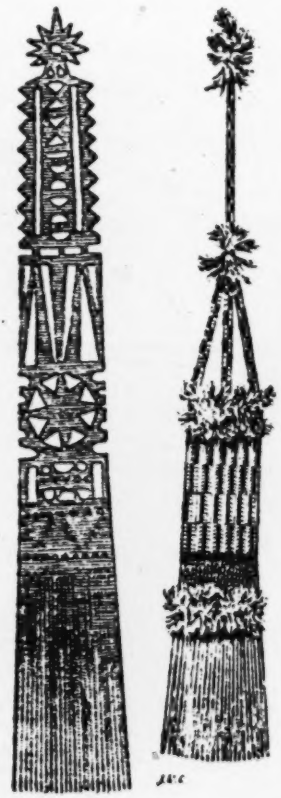
was a thorough understanding. The chief saw that the regular offerings to the spirits were not stinted; the priest, possessed by his god, retained sufficient self-command to gasp prophecies in remarkable accordance with the chief's interest. That they, like the Augurs, could meet without grinning, was doubtless due to the grim reality of the risk that often attached to the sacerdotal office; for was not the priest of Tubou Totai already doomed to be strangled for failing to restore Finau's daughter, when sudden death overtook his patron? Even seventeen years before the arrival of the first missionaries, the chiefs did not care to conceal their scepticism; and perhaps, if the tragic death of Finau had not seemed so signal a revenge of the outraged gods, the missionaries would have found that the ancient faith had crumbled away of itself before their arrival.



Combs.

The influence of the priests had been so slight that, even with the fear of seeing their occupation gone, they could oppose no obstacle to the new creed. They are scarcely mentioned even by missionaries. The opposition came from the chiefs them-

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related elsewhere, the Conference unwisely resisted the demand for home-rule until it was too late, and Mr Baker had gone over to the enemy and founded the Free Church. Then all the dormant fires of sectarian hatred burst out afresh. The majority of the native ministers, tempted by the promise of higher salaries, went over in a body to a Church in which they had greater liberty, higher pay, and a satisfied feeling of patriotism. They scarcely needed Baker's encouragement to persecute the minority that remained faithful, for they knew that upon the universality of the new Church depended their appointments. The old, regarding them as traitors, would never have taken them back except at a great disadvantage. So they persecuted, and thereby awoke in their opponents all the obstinacy of the Tongan character.

The old Church flourished under persecution as Churches always have flourished. Left contemptuously alone, it might possibly have died a natural death: under the shadow of a promise of martyrdom, some of the vigour of its lost youth returned to it. But the life-giving fire was party spirit, not religious feeling. From the establishment of the Free Church dates the real overthrow of devotional earnestness among the Tongans. The change had been long impending, for the temperament of the people is incapable of a steady warmth. A fire of enthusiasm that had blazed so fiercely must needs soon smoulder away into ashes. Henceforward the form only survived—the spirit had burnt itself out. With the Free Church a fourth party, who mockingly called themselves the *Lotu jio* or "Looking-on Church," came into existence. They were the lukewarm, who

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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had now an excuse for declaring their indifference. For the sake of peace they professed to belong to the Free Church, but they attended none of the services, and in reality they belonged to no Church at all. The Roman Catholics, as neutrals, sucked no small advantage out of the quarrel, for they opened their doors to all those who feared to be Wesleyans and refused to be Free Churchmen.

It is a compliment to the Rev. J. E. Moulton to say that, in their hour of need, the Wesleyans were unfortunate in their champion. They wanted a rough-handed fighting man, cool, thick-skinned, and not over-scrupulous, who would meet such a man as Baker on his own ground, and fight him with his own weapons. They had instead a gentleman and a scholar, full of generous impulses and enthusiasm, a born teacher, whose field was the class-room, not the atmosphere of low political intrigue. Against each successive outrage his only resource was protest; and until it was too late and he had earned the king's enmity, he failed to see that calm good-humoured toleration of insult might have undermined Baker's influence where indignant remonstrance only served to strengthen his position. He left all the fighting to his coadjutor,—a gentleman with a natural turn for litigation, whose ill-directed efforts, while they embarrassed the native Government, inflamed the chiefs of the Free Church against the people he was endeavouring to serve.

These missionaries were unable to realise that the steadfastness of their followers was obstinancy under the lash of persecution rather than the fire of religious

14: Thomson G-3 (1886-1891) 1894
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conviction. The tenets of the new Church were the same as those of the old, and therefore no conscientious scruples could have weighed with the inflexible minority. They were held really by the natural repugnance of every man of independent character to being bullied into doing a thing he has at first refused. But the missionaries expected that, as soon as the removal of Mr Baker put an end to persecution, the people would flock back to their old Church. They were bitterly disappointed when they found that very few of their old adherents cared to do so. The truth was that the old Church had become unfashionable, now that its members could no longer have the distinction of aspiring to martyrdom. Indifference had permeated the new Church and the old alike. People still went to church because the king did, and because it was the sole opportunity for the display of new clothes; but they dropped religion from their conversation, and spoke of their respective Churches only as political organisations. The Wesleyan Conference had withdrawn Mr Moulton, and substituted for him one of their ordinary ministers, ignorant of the Tongan language and character, who found himself confronted with an unexpected difficulty. The returned exiles from Fiji, of whom the majority of their leading men were composed, had been spoilt by the fuss that had been made over them. Their natural conceit as Tongans had been so fostered by their admiring friends, that they would no longer submit to the control of any foreigner were he a hundred times their minister. Perhaps the antagonism to Europeans, which the early missionaries in their war against the traders had so industriously cultivated, was

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but they would only consent to listen to him on the condition that he would cut off all communication with Haapai. He therefore returned to Haapai and embarked his forces, about 5000 men and 1000 women, in fifty war-canoes, with four carronades and ammunition. The siege lasted many months, and the garrison only submitted in obedience to the gods, and after imposing conditions upon their assailants to take no revenge upon any of them. These conditions were not observed. Finau heard, or pretended that he had heard, of a plot upon his life. Several of the leading chiefs were seized at his kava-party, bound, and summarily despatched; but eighteen were reserved for the more signal punishment of being turned adrift in leaky canoes. On their way to the open sea they implored their executioners to knock out their brains instead of consigning them to the slow and ignominious death of drowning, and the request was granted in twelve cases. The other six, all chiefs of high rank, were turned adrift, and died regretting their foolishness in trusting to the honour of Finau.

In Finau's mind there was a growing scepticism regarding the religion of his ancestors. He was now in the zenith of his prosperity, and he had never deserved well of the gods by submission to their will, or by regularity in his offerings. To him the institution of a Tui Tonga seemed a useless tax upon the people—a worn-out cult, a mere survival of the superstition of a darker age. He was proposing seriously to abolish the *inaji*, the great annual presentation of food to the Tui Tonga, which, in the famine that had succeeded the war, was very difficult to provide, when a great misfortune fell upon him. His daughter, after a long illness, died. While there was

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175 643 breath after their run, were at a great disadvantage. The other two did not await his onset, but fled, leaving him victorious.

[634] Such was his reputation as a warrior, that he was marked as the future leader of the Haapai people when he had scarcely attained manhood. He was twenty-three when his father died in 1820, and the unity of Tongatabu, bought by years of hard fighting, was again swept away by civil war. Taufaahau saw no advantage in following his father's example, who ever wearily pushed up the stone of conquest in Tongatabu only to see it roll back upon him weakened by his hopeless labour. The Government of Haapai, impoverished as it was by the years of war, would give him work enough.

[628] For six years there was no Tui Kanokubolu. The garrisons of Tongatabu still lived within their intrenchments, but they were tired of war, and for a time there was an armed peace. But a power was at hand which was destined to accomplish that which invading armies had fought in vain. In June 1822 a Methodist missionary named Lawry, fired by the writings of the survivors of the artisan missionaries landed by the Duff, made a second attempt to teach Christianity. The growing disbelief in the ancient superstitions that had led Finau Ulukalala to attempt the abolition of the great *inaji*, and to curtail the privileges of the Tui Tonga, had spread to Tongatabu. The influence of the priests had been undermined by the licence of war, and Lawry had not to face the difficulties that beset the pioneers of the Duff. He found the chief power in Tongatabu to be in the hands of Maealiuaki, or Talau as he was

175 797 [771] [793] [634]

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In the Tongan Group the islands of Ata and Eua, and probably Euaiki (Little Eua) were first created. Eua was formed by Tangaloa, the craftsman, pouring down into the sea the scraps from his work-shop. At about the same time as this truly magnificent use was being made of the shavings from the bench of the craftsman god, Ata slowly made its appearance above the sea. On Ata were born the first men, three in number, formed from a worm bred by a rotten plant, whose seed was brought by Tangaloa from heaven. These three were afterwards provided by the Maui with wives from the Underworld. The well-known fishing expedition of the Maui hauled to the surface many of the remaining islands known to the early Tongans.

Later Maui Atalanga and Maui Kijikiji came up from the Underworld and settled at Koloa in Vavau, where a temple of Maui stood up to the time of the introduction of Christianity. Tradition is not quite consistent at this point. Atalanga married a woman of Vavau, whom one account represents as the mother of Kijikiji, who yet is regarded in other accounts, probably the most usual and authoritative, as having been a member of the expedition which fished up Vavau, and various other parts of Tonga, Samoa and Fiji. The whole question of the position of the Vavau of myth has an interest and difficulty not unlike that attaching to the Hawaiki series of place-names. Tregear, in his "Maori Comparative Dictionary," says (s.v., Wawau), "There is reason for thinking that Vavau in the Friendly Islands is not the mythological Vavau or Wawau; the name has been localised anew all over the Pacific." It is uncertain whether there will be ever complete enough information to make definite statement possible.

In spite of the widespread recognition of these major deities the practical affairs of life apparently did not so much compel resort to them as to a number of gods whose cults were in some cases nation-wide, and in others confined to different localities, or more strictly to various groups of people. The greater cults are always especially associated with chiefs and great gentlemen attendants of chiefs, who are their people's representatives before the gods as in more mundane affairs. In fact the deference and observances paid to the chiefs, and particularly to the Tui Tonga, would seem to be a very practical part of the ordinary man's religion. The attribute of chiefliness, of which the Tui Tonga was the human fountain-head, was essentially a thing sacred and of those things which men regard with religious awe. Chiefliness is, in its origin, a gift of the gods, Ahoeitu, the first Tui Tonga, being the son of Eitumatubua, the Lord of Heaven, and a human mother. Although the gods of which one hears were worshipped by chiefs and larger or smaller groups, this does not mean apparently that almost any object might not be adopted as sacred by a man and his household. There is a gradation in the divine hierarchy

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From my conversations with the Tongans I am not quite sure where the votaries and the priests sat during consultation of a god, but think that the people would sit round at a respectable distance on the green sward in front of the temple, and the priests would sit either just within or without the doorway. Descriptions seem to point to some such arrangement as this, and it is rendered almost certain by its thorough agreement with universal custom in the paying of a ceremonial visit to an important chief. It is hardly necessary to add that all references to the gods were couched in the most deferential language, terms being employed which were applied to the Tui Tonga and the Tamaha alone amongst mortals, though used now of the constitutional king. Such words are naturally used to-day of the Deity in Christian worship.

Another common mark of deference in approaching a superior is the wearing of a mat about the waist, girt on with a cinnet-rope belt. This addition to the dress, called a *taovala*, is universally worn at the *fono*, or assemblies where the people are gathered together to hear the will of their chiefs, or of the government, or when approaching a great chief, especially to ask a favour. It is also worn at funerals. Undoubtedly it was worn by the people approaching one of the ancient gods. A mark of still deeper humility is a wreath of the leaves of the *ifi* (*Inocarpus edulis*, Tahitian chestnut) round the neck. This badge of deference was used, for example, by supplicants suing for their lives. To sit with the head bowed, and these leaves round the neck, was the strongest possible expression of humility and entreaty. Whether it were a common adjunct or not of worship I do not know, but it would seem highly probable that it was employed at all events on occasions of great stress. Mariner describes it as being worn on a certain occasion in entering a temple, but in this instance the wearers were pleading for their lives to a great chief.

Naturally the gods varied in power and influence. Some were resorted to by the whole nation; others were the gods of powerful chiefs and their tribes and clans, whilst others enjoyed a more limited prestige, their devotees being the little group of allied households which forms the usual social unit. There was nothing to prevent a a man's setting up a tutelary deity of his own if he were so disposed. The number of the gods, moreover, was liable to constant augumentation by the deification of the illustrious or well-beloved dead. A notable instance is Fakailoatonga, a chief related to Finau, of Vavau. In his life-time Fakailoatonga was a famous warrior, and subdued, or at least over-ran, a large part of Tongatabu, "but he was a leper." For long he was ignorant of the nature of his malady, and his friends sedulously refrained from reference to it. But one day a companion told him the ghastly truth, and Fakailoatonga, in his disgust, buried himself alive. After his death he was elevated to the goddage. In the

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period of which we have information totemism has given way to a more highly developed polytheism, but there are indications that the development was by way of totemism. There are the usual restrictions on the eating of the sacred animal, though some fish which enjoyed a certain amount of sanctity were used for food by those in whose eyes they were sacred. The whole question of fishing was edged about with *tabus*, the consideration of which would lead us too far afield from the matter in hand. But I have not yet been able to positively ascertain whether the species of a fish in which a god was actually embodied was ever eaten by his devotees. For instance, there is more than one shark deity, but I know of only one clan who refrained from eating shark from religious motives. The two most famous shark gods manifest themselves in sharks which are not used as food, and, are in fact altogether exceptional, and probably purely mythical fish. Putting aside a few fish, which, if not actually the vehicles of gods, were at all events the subject of special *tabus*, the prohibition of the eating of the sacred animal is general and clear. A highly respected native minister of the Methodist Church informs me that to this day he gets a headache if he eats the sacred animal of his clan, though it is esteemed a delicacy by those who have the good fortune to be exempted from the *tabu*, and probably most who are not.

There is an old story which is perhaps a fragment from an ancient and forgotten body of lore in which the totem plays an important part in the impregnation of the woman of his clan. The tale of the birth of the lovely Vae, who became so beautiful that there was not her equal in the whole of Tonga, relates that during her mother's pregnancy the food for which she craved was the rail. The idiom used to express such cravings of a pregnant woman might be translated with strict accuracy, so far as the form of expression goes, as the food by which she was pregnant, or had conceived. The present day Tongan, however, uses the expression without any idea of pregnancy having been caused by the object in question, but merely as indicating the fastidious liking of a delicate woman for a special food. The god of Vae's father was the dove, and before the mother had given birth to her child the parents embarked on a voyage, taking with them the dove god. On the way the expectant mother, in her longing for her favourite dish, asked her husband for a rail. He, rather exasperated at so unreasonable a request out at sea, screwed the neck of his god and gave his wife a meal of dove. Being compelled by stress of weather to put in at an island, the mother there gave birth to her child, which to her disgust was marked on the face by the dove's head. In her chargin at this disfigurement she abandoned the infant, a little girl, at the foot of a tree when the voyage was resumed. The remainder of the story, telling of the child's adoption by a couple on the island, the disappearing of the

16: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1921 OU9 Tonga OU9

mark as she grew, and of the wonderful beauty which made her the wife of one Tui Tonga and the mother of another, does not concern our present purpose. It seems, too, that women became pregnant by bathing in a pond sacred to the god Tui Haafakafonua.

Tattooing has largely fallen into disuse amongst modern Tongans. Indeed some seem to be uncertain whether it be a thing of home growth, or an exotic introduced from Samoa, where it is still extensively practised. It is undoubtedly certain, however, that tattooing was common in Tonga at least a century ago. So far I have been able to find only one instance where the markings had a clear totem or religious significance, namely in the tattooing of the bird called the *kalae* (a rail) on the throat of the priest connected with his worship. Something more will be said later about the individual gods, but the people who held the *kalae* sacred were in the habit of tying together a bunch of these birds, and taking it about with them. Such a bunch of sacred birds was tattooed on the throat of the priest. In general the artists who performed the operation of tattooing chose their designs in accordance with their individual notions of beauty, and gained reputation by the artistry of their work. Although most of the gods had their sacred animal, or other object, it is not certain whether this was quite universal, there apparently being deities whose manifestation was merely through their priests; but a negative is ever hard to prove, and after hearing in one quarter that a particular god had no sacred animal one may later stumble on an informant able to supplement his previous information. There are also cases where it is remembered that a particular animal was sacred, but nobody seems to know to what god. However, from time to time there may come opportunities to rectify some at least of the gaps in the tradition.

The best illustration of what I have been so far able to gather about the old Tongan deities can be given by setting forth what my informants have told me. These notes make no claim to completeness, and fuller information may supplement, or correct, much of what follows. It is, however, probably a fair sample, giving generally correct outlines of the native's outlook on his religion, however inadequate it may be in details. Unfortunately the time when reliable information can be gathered about many matters interesting to the student of primitive practices is fast slipping away. There are living to-day very few Tongans able to give a trustworthy and full account of any part of the older faith, and of those who, from motives of patriotism or intelligent curiosity, have been interested in hearing and remember what they could of their people's past, hardly one has himself witnessed anything of the ancient practices. Where possible both the names of the gods and of their sacred objects have been given, but there are instances in which one or the other has been forgotten by the Tongans with whom I have discussed these matters.

20: Gifford E-5 (1920-1921) 1924 OU9 Tonga OU9

as are the ordinances against allowing domestic animals to stray into public thoroughfares. Blue laws prohibiting work and play on the Sabbath are observed scrupulously by the Tongans and diligently enforced among Europeans by the Tongan police.

So thoroughly saturated is the Tongan with what might be called "tabuism" that his attitude at times becomes intolerant and even persecuting. A well-educated Tongan one day remarked to me concerning Sunday picnics of European residents, "Well, what can you expect from ignorant foreigners?" On another occasion I observed a helmsman on a church-owned passenger vessel severely rebuked for not joining in a hymn. When the schism occurred in the Methodist ranks in Tonga and resulted in the establishment of the Free Church, there was much downright physical suffering administered to Tongans who preferred the old faith. A number of these displayed the true martyr spirit. Others became Roman Catholics rather than join the new church and still others yielded reluctantly to the call of the new church.

It should be noted that many Tongans have entered the ranks of missionary workers and taken an important part in Christianizing Melanesia and New Guinea.

Some Catholic churches in Tonga still use the booming of the huge wooden native drums (lali) to summon their congregations. The Protestant churches seem largely to have adopted the less inspiring bell. I have noted, too, Catholic congregations seated cross-legged on the floor. Protestant congregations seem more generally to use benches.

A feast for the minister after his Sunday sermon seems to be the established Methodist practice in Tonga. Apparently we have here a good old Methodist custom which fits "hand-in-glove" with the feasting of the priest at the time of inspiration in pagan days.

Christianity has been a powerful democratizing factor in Tonga. Through it the arbitrary powers of the chiefs have been curbed and conversely the status of the commoner has been bettered. Anciently commoners were supposed to have perishable souls. To-day their souls are imperishable like a chief's. In addition to bringing about more of a balance between these two extremes of Tongan society, the

21: Simkin U-5 (no date) 1945 OU9 Tonga OU9

from rich, but it is free from the hardships of real poverty, the poisons of economic inequality, and the degradations of a proletariat.

On the cultural side the void created by the collapse of the old religious beliefs has been more than filled by Christianity and the missions have been tender of other aspects of Tongan culture. The traditional music and handicrafts have all been encouraged along with a pride in the past. New interests have been provided by church choirs, stringed instruments and brass bands, and by the introduction of European sports like cricket. Education in English, history and geography has opened up new intellectual horizons, even if rather slowly and to too limited an extent.

Tonga's Future

If left alone to work out their future the Tongans can face it with hope and confidence. Much can be done to develop agriculture and to add new branches to it. Progress in this field holds out the hope, not only of better diet, larger real incomes, and a lessened dependence on foreign trade, but also the prospect of new vocational interests to enrich village and family life. Co-operative societies to spread agricultural knowledge, to market produce, and to operate equipment such as copra driers are already under way. New crops, animal husbandry and cotton weaving could all develop so as to give people more interesting lives as well as better standards of living. A new interest and activity is being shown in education, and real attempts are being made to develop it in the directions most needing reform. The new teachers' training college, in particular, should have valuable effects upon the quality of Tongan education, and should stimulate further educational reform.

These opportunities, however, will not be realised unless there is vigorous, imaginative and generous leadership. Tonga appears to be at a turning point—it can either move forward to a healthy nationhood or become a stagnant backwater of the Pacific. The dangers of such a decline cannot be ignored, even if they should not be exaggerated. The country's history reveals a great past, but the driving energy that made that past is not so very evident to-day. Boatbuilding and seamanship, which were once responsible for the subjection of central Polynesia, are now badly decayed. Other crafts still survive but can hardly be said to flourish. There are disturbing indications that the declining powers of the chiefs may lead to the passive acceptance of a

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

and it was also his duty to maintain the god-house, or temple, in due repair and order.

The religion of the Tonguese, as it existed when they became known to the civilized world, incorporated no abstract principles of belief. It was rather a system of despotism, in which deities, ceremonies, and restrictions, had been indefinitely multiplied, till it presented a chaos of dark superstitions, into which the population plunged headlong, through slavish fear and ignorance. The mysteries and enactments of heathen worship, although submitted to by the chiefs themselves, unquestionably were intended more for the perpetuation of their power and influence, than to direct the ideas of the people to matters of spiritual and eternal interest, or even to those involving temporal improvement. No spirit of benevolence pervaded the system. It abounded in punishments for the present life, and in dark threatenings for the future. *Bulotu*, the Tonguese paradise, was reserved only for the spirits of departed chiefs and persons of rank; who, in their turn, became the servants of the presiding genius of Bulotu, and as such were often worshipped and sacrificed to by the people, for the purpose of securing their interposition with the gods. Of the fate of the *tuas*, or common people, there was no certainty whatever; and it was doubtful whether they had any souls at all. A general opinion, however, did prevail, that there was a future state, and with it vague and conflicting notions of rewards and punishments. Their traditions referred to the creation of the world, and probably also to the deluge; but, even then, according to their ideas, a multiplicity of gods existed. Savage rites, and deities who

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

delighted in mischief and blood; a cruel and rapacious priesthood; a despotic and oppressive government; inhuman faiths, and absurd superstitions; under these the people were held in abject bondage. It was, emphatically, "a land of darkness, as darkness itself, and of the shadow of death."

The gods of the Tonguese were numerous, and they received constant additions from the most trivial circumstances. Every object of fear, or from which harm could come, was worshipped. Sharks, volcanoes, and any singular appearance in the natural kingdom, had each their devotees. There were family deities, and gods of the wars, seasons, crops, and winds. The four principal gods in their mythology were Tangaloa, Maui, Hikuleo, and Heu-moana-uliuli. It is questionable which of these was accounted the chief deity, or whether, indeed, the Tonguese had any notion of one Supreme Being; and, as the history of these deities has little in it calculated either to interest or instruct, we must refer our readers to other sources for information regarding them.* Suffice it to say, that in Tonguese heathenism, as in other pagan systems, we see how man has deified man: how his fertile imagination has peopled groves, shores, oceans, and skies, with beings of wonderful natures;—beings who, with some, were the objects of fear, and, with others, of companionship and protection. Here, as in all other heathen lands, men, "professing themselves to be wise, became fools, and changed the glory of the uncorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-

* Appendix to Lawry's "Missionary Visit to the Friendly and Feejee Islands," Mason, London, pp. 248–251. "Tonga and the Friendly Islands," by Miss Farmer, pp. 125–137.

[113]

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

bidden sugar-cane; upon which the Fijians told him that he was a doomed man, and should not long survive his offence. He laughed at their fears, and had never thought of it again, until he was reminded of it by a Fijian woman, one of the attendants who had accompanied him from Fiji, and who firmly believed that his sickness and death were solely attributable to that cause. Netani himself had no such opinion, and died a very peaceful and happy death, trusting in his Saviour; but it was evident that many around him thought otherwise; thought, in fact, that he had been prayed to death by the heathen.

It cannot be cause of surprise that the dread of sorcery, and especially the fear of the power of the priesthood to pray people secretly to death, should have obtained such complete dominion over the native mind, when we remember, how by Papal fulminations, and paper interdicts and excommunications, the Church of Rome exerted her authority, in olden times, even in enlightened Europe. By the bugbear of a Papal anathema, whole kingdoms were thrown into a state of distress and panic, scarcely conceivable in modern times.

We have seen, however, by what took place in Vavau on the introduction of Christianity, how much the priestly craft, and the whole system of lies which it propagated and sustained, depended upon the countenance of the civil powers. No sooner was their protection withdrawn, than the whole fabric of heathenism collapsed and crumbled into ruin. It had no deep-seated and inherent vitality of its own, which could enable it to maintain its authority as a purely religious system. When left by the political power to its own re-

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

771 177 797 sources, it fell at once, like Dagon before the ark of God. Hence the cause, in a secondary sense, of the rapid spread of the Gospel throughout the whole of these islands. And, although, as we shall shortly have reason to show, heathenism made a stand for years in Tongatabu, yet that was owing to political conditions, and not because of any inherent strength in heathenism itself.

565 [642] The political constitution of the country was that of a monarchical despotism, supported by an hereditary aristocracy. The ranks of society, besides the priestly orders, were well defined, and fixed as unalterably as the castes of India. The grades were these:—the *Hau*, or families of the blood royal; the *Houeiki*, or chieftain orders; the *Muas*, or gentry; the *Matabules*, or official attendants and companions of the higher classes; and the *Tuas*, or common people. Certain subdivisions [463] [428] were also recognised under each of these orders, and professional employments were strictly hereditary; such as those of carpenters, fishermen, undertakers, doctors, &c., &c.

565 562 [428] [611] Rank was hereditary, and descended chiefly through the females; who sometimes, although rarely, held the reins of government in their own right. Hence the women of Tonga were never oppressed and burdened, as in many heathen lands. On the contrary, the females of these islands were kindly and considerately treated, and we might almost say they were idolized by the sterner sex.

562 61 174 831 It must, however, be observed, that the succession of rank through the mother originated, probably, in the great licence existing between the sexes. If it were difficult to designate the father of a child with certainty, no doubt could exist with re-

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

to see, on our approaching the shore, a chief called Tuuhetoka sitting in the act of reverent worship by the seaside. When, therefore, we drew near to Lifuka, so it happened. Tuuhetoka *was* there on the shore, doing lowly reverence. Upon seeing him, the heathens said among themselves, 'Alas! it is true; we shall have to fly.' But when the canoe had reached the land, I told them all to remain on board, while Tufui, Mafileo, and myself, went to see the king, Taufa-ahau. As soon as he saw us approaching, he smiled upon us, and I said within myself, 'Thanks! the Lord has given me favour.' After some conversation, he said to us, 'It is said, friends, that the chiefs here are angry; but never mind them; let us go and seek for a house where Peter may lodge.'

"On the first Sabbath day, while going to preach, two women mocked me in the road, and said many evil things about me. Many and great were my trials and the false reports that were spread about me at that time; but the Lord filled the mind of the King Taufa-ahau with great love to me. He took lessons from me in reading; but he had not yet begun to worship God. After I had been living with him some little time, he said to me one day, 'Come, Peter, let us go and seek the god Haehaetahi, that I may talk with him, and make him a present of *kava*.' Accordingly, we went on our journey to Foa, where the god's priestess dwelt. As we went along, the king told me he was going to do the god some mischief. He then pulled up a young banana tree; and, after cutting it into the shape of a club, he said, 'I will strike the devil-god with this.' I then said, 'Don't strike with the root, lest you kill the old woman,'

22: West M-3 (1846-1855) 1865 OU9 Tonga OU9

(the god's attendant priestess, or shrine.) He then cut off the hard portion of the root, and said, at the same time holding up the stem, 'There, then, I will strike only with this.'

"When we arrived at the place to present the *kava* of the god, the old priestess said, 'Haehaetahi is not here:' upon which Taufa-ahau replied, 'Perhaps the god is vexed with me because of this great garland of flowers;' (referring to some upon his own person;) 'but let him forgive, and return hither, that we may drink *kava* together.' Hereupon the old priestess became inspired by Haehaetahi; and, in the meanwhile, Taufa-ahau had prepared a great drinking-cup, large enough for four persons to drink from; for he knew, he said, that 'Haehaetahi was a god fond of drink.' The cup was then filled and handed by Taufa-ahau to the priestess; but, while her face was turned upwards, in the act of drinking off its contents, Taufa-ahau struck her a great blow on the forehead, which sent the god (or priestess) rolling on the ground. He then gave another blow, and, raising a shout of victory, cried out that the god was slain. Owing to this act, no god was again willing to appear openly throughout Haabai. The whole fraternity of gods were afraid lest they should be beaten like Haehaetahi; for, from that time, Taufa-ahau became very mischievous to them all.

"But the following was the manner, and the occasion, of the king's first open profession of Christianity. There came a request to me, from a certain chief, that I would go and burn a sacred tree, that so he might be at liberty to cut it up, and use it in building his canoe. As I went along, some women asked, 'Where is the man of prayer going?' So

30: Collocott M-5 (no date) 1962 OU9 Tonga OU9

THE SUPERNATURAL IN TONGA

By E. E. V. COLLOCOTT

IT is no longer possible to observe at first-hand the ritual of Tongan worship. Even the names of the gods are well nigh forgotten. All that will be attempted here is to bring together a few of the conceptions of the old Tongan when he came to have dealings with the invisible world, adding little, probably nothing, to the general sum of information respecting Polynesian beliefs, but merely supplying a few points for comparison from a region which has not been so fully described as some others.

Tabu

General Remarks

The main island in the Tongan Group is marked on the maps as Tongatabu, though locally it is most often called simply Tonga. Very frequently, however, it is called Tongatabu, sometimes Tonga Lahi (Great Tonga), or Tonga Eiki (Chiefly Tonga). It probably owes its appellation of "tabu" to the fact that it is the residence of the great chiefs, those who in the beginning descended from heaven, the offspring of a mortal woman and a god. These chiefs are the fount and source of chiefly influence and prestige, the head of the sacred polity of the group in its practical working. Natives say that the people of the northern groups of Haapai and Vavau would remark on the incessant tabus imposed on them when they visited Tonga on account of the proximity of the high chiefs. That can have happened, however, only in the immediate entourage of these great lords.

The idea of tabu itself is twofold, or has a twofold aspect, indicating firstly sacredness, that which is *nefas*, frequently equivalent to the holiness by which our English Bibles render the Hebrew *qadosh*, the mysterious perilousness and unapproachableness which surrounds mystic power. Besides this uncanny essence of the occult tabu em-

39: Gerstle & Raitt C,Q-4,5 (1952-1972)
1974 OU9 Tonga OU9

532 Tongan art by western or contemporary standards, as has so often been done; it should rather be viewed in terms of the complex social and cultural matrix from which it sprang.

Wood being the main medium used long ago, wood craftsmanship and carving in the form of canoes, houses, war clubs, spears, paddles, kava bowls, statues and wooden "headrest" pillows became a polished art in the Tongan society, performed only by highly specialized artisans called *tufunga,* whose skills were most often transmitted by heredity. As religion was a major facet of life, the Tongans had a god as a patron for each category of artistic activity. Thus, art reflected their system of religious beliefs, values and rituals, as well as their extremely structured socio-political organization.

[771]
[776]

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The traditional Tongan house, similar to that of

[p. 9-C]

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776 Early Tongans lived in a polytheistic world that
779 was created and maintained by gods *('otua)*, and in fact, many of the ancient songs and legends tell of the gods, as well as of heroes who became deified
771 after death.[12] Tongan religious organization in pre-contact times and before the introduction of western morality was highly complex and very intricate in terms of internal structure.

775 Pulotu, the abode of the gods and Tonga's site of the hereafter, was a mythical island which some believed lay at an unknown distance to the northwest of Tonga, while others believed it lay beneath Tonga and had an entrance under a large
[565] [774] stone or cluster of reeds. There dwelt the principal

[p. 39-B]

40: Moulton M-4,5 (ca.1880-1920)
1955 OU9 Tonga OU9

101 **TONGANS.—1. Introduction.—Tonga—or at** least the Tonga of this article—is the name of a group of islands in the Western Pacific, lying to the north of New Zealand, the east of New Caledonia, and the south of Fiji and Samoa. It is sometimes known as the Friendly Isles, the name given it by Captain Cook. The Tongans who inhabit this group are a tiny nation of the Polynesian race. Although few in number—about 20,000 only—their nationality is clearly marked, and they can easily be distinguished from their
144 neighbours the Fijians and Samoans. Typical Tongans are tall, large-limbed, of a light coffee
142 colour, with upright forehead and straight hair; but a little acquaintance with them shows that there has been an admixture with a race that
174 was short and had receding foreheads. This agrees with their traditions, which state that, when the Tongans came to the group, some five or six centuries ago, it was already occupied by an aboriginal race. Traces of these have been found in one of the volcanic islands, but the vestiges have not been scientifically examined. Still it is clear that the Tongans, and Polynesians generally, have emigrated from a distance; and the most probable theory is that of Fornander, that they came from the head of the Persian Gulf.

Old navigators used to speak of the Tongans as 'the most splendid savages in existence,' and they were certainly the terror of the neighbouring groups, all of which are said to have been once
829 conquered by them. They acknowledge themselves to be mentally inferior to the European;
153 but it cannot be said that they come very far behind; and occasionally students at Tubou College have achieved results that could be equalled only
192 by the best pupils in English schools. A fair measure of the size of their brains may surely be found in their language, which contains, it is
192 estimated, at least 10,000 words in use. The verbs have about 20 voices, and the pronouns are de-
193 veloped to such an amazing extent that there are more than 100 ways of saying 'our,' against two in English, 'our' and 'our own.' As the adjectives, too, have many degrees of comparison, and there are more than two articles, shades of meaning can be produced to an almost infinite extent.
000 That the Bible translates well into a language like this is not surprising; but geometrical treatises, and such works as Milton's *Paradise Lost*, can also be well rendered.

771 Physically, then, and mentally, the Tongans stand high; and it comes as a surprise that their

40: Moulton M-4,5 (ca.1880-1920)
1955 OU9 Tonga OU9

771 spiritual development, as represented by their old religion, was low. Their pantheon was a medley, and their theology unredeemed by any gleams of philosophy as in the religion of India.

776 2. The gods of Tonga may be divided into three classes.

779 (1) In common with other parts of Polynesia, their great gods comprise the two groups of the Tangaloa and the Maui (pronounced Mow-y: Mow as in *now*). The *Tangaloa* were the earlier group, and consisted of Tangaloa 'Eiki ('Lord Tangaloa,' or 'Tangaloa the Elder'), Tangaloa Tufunga ('Tangaloa the Smith, Carpenter, or Artificer,' who made axes and built canoes), and Tangaloa 'Atulongolongo ('Tangaloa the Sender-forth-of-sound'). The *Maui* group consisted of five persons: Maui Motu'a ('Old Maui,' or 'Maui the Father'), Maui Loa ('Maui the Tall'), Maui Buku ('Maui the Short'), and Maui 'Atalanga ('Maui the Vigorous Planter'). This last had a son called Maui Kijikiji (pronounced Kitsikitsi: 'Maui the Violent, the Mischievous'), who was, of course, the grandson of Maui Motu'a.

There were, however, older gods than any of these. One was called Tama-bo'uli-ala-mafoa ('Son-of-the-Darkness-that-can-have-a-dawn'). Some accounts represent him as the original deity. Another of the primitive gods was 'Eitu-matubu'a ('Eitu-of-the-olden-time'). He is spoken of as the father of the Tongan people. Another of these gods was Hikule'o, the Tongan Satan. *Hikule'o* means 'the echo,' and there is no doubt that this was the original signification of the name; but as it *might* mean 'Watching Tail,' the legend grew up that the tail of this deity was so long that when he, the god, went about, the tail kept watch [822] at home. But even now the Tongans, when they hear an echo, say it is Hikule'o walking in the woods; and the other explanation was evidently an afterthought.

These with others were the original gods of Tonga. By and by a division of departments took place. To the Tangaloa was assigned the Sky (or Heaven); to the Maui group the Under World; and to Hikule'o the World and Bulotu (Hades). But in order to keep Hikule'o in his place, as he was a god that delighted in mischief, a cord was attached to him, one end of which was held by Tangaloa in the sky, and the other by a Maui in the under world, to prevent his leaving Bulotu to damage the world. This division was effected by an older god than any, namely, Taufulifonua ('Frequent-Upsetter-of-the-land'), who also assigned the sea to Hemoana, and the woods and dry land generally to Lube (the Dove). Hemoana's name is sometimes pronounced Heimoana, and the present writer *believes* that Tongavalevale spoke of him as Hea-Moana, though he is unable to speak positively on that point. *Hea-Moana* would signify 'Hea-of-the-deep-sea'; *Hemoana* would be simply 'the Deep [778] Sea' = Oceanus. His shrine was the banded sea-snake. These were the Olympian gods of Tonga; but, with the exception of Hikule'o, they were rarely worshipped, and few if any temples were [782] erected in their honour. The exception is due to the fact that Hikule'o was a mischievous god, and must therefore be propitiated.

776 (2) The second class of gods were an inferior race,
778 who had their shrines in animals, birds, fishes,
779 trees, whales' teeth, clubs, and even stones. Yet these were the gods worshipped by the people, and their temples were to be found in every village. Here are a few of them: Tu'i 'Ahau ('King of the town of 'Ahau'), whose shrine was a volcanic stone of peculiar shape; Tu'i Lalotonga ('King of Rarotonga,' or perhaps of the world below Tonga), whose shrine was the dragon-fly; Taliai Tubou (the god of the reigning dynasty while yet heathen),

[p. 376-B]

40: Moulton M-4,5 (ca.1880-1920)
1955 OU9 Tonga OU9

643 of steps. This was called a *langi*, or 'heaven'; and
195 many of them remain in tolerable preservation, and
764 excite the wonder of the visitor by the huge size of many of the stones, some of which measure over 20 ft. in length.

193 Many, probably most, of the names of the Tu'i
643 Tonga have been preserved, and their history curiously reminds us of the story of the Carlovingians and Merovingians in France. One of the Tu'i Tonga, called Takalaua, was murdered, and his son and successor Kau'ulufonuafekai, from weariness or fear, devolved the duties of government on his younger brother, reserving to himself the honours and emoluments of the office. His brother assumed the title of Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua ('King of the Takalauans'), and soon got all the power into his hands, the Tu'i Tonga becoming a *roi fainéant*. After a few generations, however, the Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua became effete, and the government was handed over to another branch, called the Tu'i Kanokubolu ('King of Kanokubolu,' the town in which he lived). This
643 is the title of the present dynasty. Representatives of the other two lines, however, still exist,
[195] but the titles are not used. The representative, however, of the Tu'i Tonga holds even now a quasi-sacred position, and is still addressed as the gods used to be; and words sacred to deity are used for all his movements.

114 Mariner mentions another semi-divine person called the Veachi (vol. ii. p. 80). This part of his narrative is very perplexing, as neither Veseon nor Thomas nor any of the modern chiefs knows anything about him.

192 The word used all over Polynesia for 'religion,' 'worship,' 'prayer,' etc., is *lotu*. Fortunately this has a meaning in Tongan, and signifies 'a seeking for something that is hard to find.' Thus when famine prevails, the people *lotu kai*, *i.e.* go all over the land looking for food. It is also used for the restlessness of a caged animal seeking an outlet, and for the cry of an animal for its mate or
192 companions. This is not the only word common to Polynesia which finds its meaning in Tongan.
197 *Tabu* (or *taboo*), now of world-wide use, signifies in Tongan that something which might be opened is closed. These and other considerations lead one to think that the Tongan language comes nearer than most of the dialects to the original Polynesian tongue.

782 3. The religious rites of the Tongans were few. There was nothing in their religion corresponding to our idea of worship. If they wanted something
782 —rain, fair winds, good crops, successful fishery—
789 or if they wished to prevent some calamity—such as sickness, death, hurricanes, war—they would seek the favour of a god, would offer sacrifice and pray. But to come into his temple, to worship, to sing his praises, to dwell upon his attributes—this
771 was a foreign idea altogether. Hence there was very little in the Tongan religion to cultivate the
181 conscience, or to control the passions, or to elevate the thoughts. Mariner thinks otherwise, and we would gladly believe his favourable report of the
181 Tongan character. But all our information—and
114 much of it goes back to Mariner's time—contradicts his statements. He even contradicts himself. The Feenow he speaks so highly of was a monster of iniquity; and there is no doubt that for centuries theft, murder, lust, treachery, and almost everything in the catalogue of evil, have been rife in Tonga. No man's life or property, and no woman's honour, was safe for a day.

782 They never went to their gods empty-handed; a piece of kava root for making the native drink was
[793] a *sine qua non*. Baskets of food, too, were usually brought in addition, and presented to the god or his priest. One of the party would then state the object of their visit, and implore the deity to grant their request, or use his influence with the gods of

›out the Folk Tales

643 all. In similar positions of sovereignty were the Pharaohs
[171] of Egypt and the Dalai Lama of Tibet.

771 As polytheism prevailed during these times, it was
182 the many different gods who were responsible for creating and maintaining social relationships within the society; for the system of taboos (enforced by the gods or fear of the gods), which were early Tonga's informal means of social control, kept law and order.
[538] The extent of the influence of the gods on Tongan thinking is revealed in the folk tales: "Son of the Sun," "Crying Princess," "Daughter of a Clam," and "Rainbow and Her Daughter."

643 Since the *Tu'i Tonga* was believed to be a direct
776 descendant of the gods, he was himself regarded as a
771 god; in effect, the *Tu'i Tonga* was the gods' representa-
643 tive on earth. Thus, a series of rituals, taboos and myths
771 were associated with the *Tu'i Tonga*'s position. His wish was law; furthermore, his possessions and his person were so sacred that they were not to be touched by any unauthorized person without the threat of severe
[538] punishment, probably death. The paramount superiority ascribed to the *Tu'i Tonga* is noted in "Prohibitions Ignored," "Son of the Sun," and "Tukunga Kautā."

775 Tonga's underworld, called Pulotu, was the abode
565

[p.9-B]

554 794 especially for men, their status is largely dependent on their standing in the local church congregation and their 554 participation in congregational activities. The reason 771 this is so lies in the major emphasis on church-related activities in the daily lives of Tongan villagers. The Beagleholes' description of village life in the late 1930s includes a section on 'religion' (1941: 124-135) that clearly portrays Tongans' absorption with matters relating to church membership and the infusion of everyday life with elements that reflect the prominence of religion in Tongan society, and this portrayal is still valid today.

797 Christianity has long been existent in Tonga. The first missionaries to Tonga were sponsored by the London Missionary Society as part of the Society's earliest venture in the Pacific, in 1797. This mission lasted only three years. The next mission effort, which was sponsored by the British Wesleyan Conference, was not until 1822 and it lasted only one year. While both these missions may be regarded as failures, they provided both the Tongans and the missionary groups with some experience of mission effort. Finally, a permanent mission in Tonga was established 797 by the Wesleyans in 1826. What has been in question in 795 Tonga for more than a century has not been whether Christianity would be accepted, but which denomination or denominations would prevail. The Wesleyans who came in

794 are predominantly of their own denomination. If there is
795 no such choice, however, and members of different denomi-
612 392 nations find themselves associated within the same fāmili,
then these people assist one another and make contributions
to one another's feasts, even if it is for a denomination
[574] other than their own. They may even be guests at such a
feast, and none of this is held to compromise their deno-
minational affiliation in any way. The same holds true
when members of a household belong to different denomin-
tions. Moreover, this is not a rare situation. There
were intra-household differences of denomination in
forty-three (30 percent) of the households in Motulahi in
1970, including differences in denominational affiliation
between parents and some of their married children in
fourteen out of fifty-one three-generational households.

794 Denominational diversity among kin arises in part
795 because switching to a different denomination is not
uncommon in Tonga. My data on this are incomplete, as I
[152] did not examine the phenomenon directly. What struck
[774] me was the seeming incongruity between the intensity
and apparent fervor of people's commitment to their own
denomination, on the one hand, and the equanimity with
which they appeared to view the fact of denominational
diversity in Tonga and their close kin being affiliated
with different denominations. That people switched deno-

121 between diversity in the sense of multiplicity--i.e, the number of different groupings of the same kind--and diversity in the sense of structural differences among groupings of the same kind. Thus, in speaking of the diversity of household composition, I am referring to differences in the structure of household groups, not to the number of households found in Tongan villages. On the other hand, "denominational diversity" refers to the number of different denominations likely to be represented in each village, not to structural differences among congregations (although, to be sure, there are such differences). Both kinds of diversity reflect the "loose structure" of Tongan society. In Tonga we find, for example, that what matters in regard to religious affiliation is that a person should have some denominational affiliation, which denomination he belongs to is less important. Similarly, a villager achieves status through participating in ceremonial activities, but there is a wide range of alternative channels for mobilizing material and social resources to enable this participation. Tongans' households are functionally similar to one another, but there are no prescriptions regarding structure; fāmili groupings and kautaha groupings are even less formally delimited. This diversity of social groupings is possible because a wide range of variation is tolerated in Tonga

181 182 794 771 554 592 612 675 121 181 182 571

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

and one of the Daughters lives at Hammoah, or Vaughwaugh, Latouleboula the son and the other Daughter at Tongatabu; the latter is she who is mentioned to have dined with me on the 22nd of June. They were both frequently with us, but never appeared to be persons of consequence nor property. Latouleboula was looked upon by his country men as a Mad man, and many of his actions shewed they were not misstaken. At Middleburg I was shewed a good deal of land said to belong to him, and I saw there a son of his, a child, that they called by the same title as the father. The Son of the greatest Prince in Europe could not be more humoured and caressed than this little brat was.

Not only the King, but most of the great men have a kind of Levy every morning, but the chief purpose of these meetings is to drink Cava, or Kava, which one of the company treats the others with. It is generally, if not always prepared by the servants or toutous; the first cup is brought to the principal person, who for the most part orders it to be given to a nother, the second is then brought him, which he drinks. Then as the others are filled, the person who fills them asks who is to have it and the person who gives the treat names the person and so it continues till the bowl is emptied. It is served out by the servants, who sit down when they deliver the cup, unless it be a meeting of inferior chiefs, than this ceremony is not observed, but great order is always kept up.

Of the Religion of these people, I know little more than what has been occasionally mentioned. There principles and notions, nearly agree with the people of Otaheite; they acknowlidge the influance of superior beings, one of whom is supreme and the rest subordinate. The supreme being I have heard called by different names; the King called him Fattafee, and said that when he was angry he distroyed the produce of the land by giving them no rain, the fish of the sea and punishes them with death, but when he was pleased he gave them health, long life and every thing in plenty, and this seem'd to be all they either feared or expected.[1] I think I may venture to assert that

faka to his children. The complications and proliferations were endless, but enough has been said to explain the anomaly of the sacred king doing homage to others who were not kings, but merely sacred. For Paulaho, both Moungalakepa his niece, and Latunipulu his nephew, were *faka*. The niece, the female, indeed, was more *faka* than the nephew: to Moungalakepa the king did obeisance, and in her presence could not eat; in Latunipulu's presence he could not eat, but did not do him obeisance.

[1] Tongan religion is a difficult subject indeed. There were many differences between Tongan and Tahitian notions; for instance, the generally important Polynesian gods Tane, Tu and Rongo did not appear on the Tongan scene. But Tangaroa or Tangaloa did, and it was he who fished up the Tongan islands out of the sea. He fathered the first Tu'i Tonga, Aho'eitu, by a Tongan woman called Ilaheva—and hence perhaps the semi-divine Paulaho's reference to him as Fatafehi. But the distinctive Tongan principal god, shared with Samoa but no other Polynesian island, was Hikuleo; he and the other gods or

54: Cook G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

782 they do not worship any thing that is the work of their own hands, nor any visible part of the creation. They do not make offerings of Hogs, Dogs and Fruit as at Otaheite, unless it be emblematical as their Morais are perfectly free from every thing of the kind; but that they offer real human sacrifices is with me not a doubt. Their Morias or Afiatoucas, for they are called by both names, but mostly by the latter, are as at Otaheite and many other parts of the world, a burying ground and a place of worship, though there are some that seemed to be only appropriated to the first, but these are small and in every other respect inferior to the others.

As we never saw a funeral, I can give no account of the ceremony used on that occasion. We only know that the dead are buried in these Morias, probably in something like vaults, or as Omai called them (who was with me when I made the enquiry) stone coffens.[1]

I shall conclude my observations on these islands and people with giving some account of the Astronomical and Nautical observations that were made during our stay among them. And first I must observe that the difference of Longitude between Anamocka and Tongatabu, is less by than in the Chart and Narrative of my last voyage; an error that might easily arrise, as the longitude of each was found without any conection with the other, but now the distance between them is determined to a degree of precision that will not admit of the least error; and which the following table will illustrate.

Latitude and Longitude

		°	′	″
131	The Latitude of the observatory at Tongatabu by the mean of several observations			

[1776] 'atua (numerous ones—district gods, lineage gods and family gods) dwelt in a region in the
[1771] west called Pulotu, to which the souls of chiefs and *matapule* made their way; but com-
[1771] moners came, as it were, to a dead end. 'They have a very Gentlemanlike notion of a
[1773] future State, they firmly believe that Woweatooa never troubles himself about any one but
[1775] the Eggees or *Gentlemen* but when they are dead they rot & return to earth & there is an
[1777] end of them.'—Bayly, 17 May. King, 5 July, has something to add. 'My friend Fattafal' he did me the honour to appear much affect'd during the time I was packing up the observatory, he with earnestness prest me to stay, & told me that he woud build a large house on the point w[h]ere our observatories stood, & that I shoud observe the heavens in peace. It shoud be observ'd, that when these people gave any opinion as to the use of the clocks & other instruments & the reason of our observing, they always supposed the Clock to be an Eatōoa (God) & that we were performing religious ceremonies to the Sun Moon &[c]; many of these notions of theirs were rather countenanc'd, as it was surely better to leave them with ideas of our having some religion than none at all & it is too true, that no other part of our conduct or way of spending our time, coud furnish them with the smallest reason to suppose we had any Religion, indeed many of them woud ask who & what was our God, which we endeavourd to answer by saying he was theirs as well as our God, & corresponded with an opinion of their own of one Omnipotent being: the little we were able to learn concerning their religious tenets shall be referred to another place.'

[1] The interpretation of 'stone coffins' as vaults is of course correct; but Cook might have omitted his 'something like'. They were indubitable vaults.

56: Samwell D,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

192 Tāmà, or Jānà, is an appellation they use in calling to a person, the same as we do: You Sir! Friend. &c.

wei seuge! a note of Admiration

wooi! wooi! wooi! Astonishm[t]

533 They have Songs of a considerable length of which the following is
539 one

Offa geeva vaw / manadoo leva / edoodogamai / anobooboo / monooanaleva / wisaogee / fucabôė / dooiarafadee / caw aroo aw / eida feeda hala / manoo goo ma anoo / geeodoffa / oomea seuge / fucaboe tooihara fadai / edoai / naihehea / gonoogoomanoo / gadoo-gooangee / dadooadoroo / movawdoodeffa / leegooàė / geedaga-gavėà / enengala / pabaivagadea / oobebea /

N. The Words contained in each division is one Stave at the end of which there is a small stop.

Another song begins Feneedangeeloi / mabo-foojee &c (Maphee's Song).[1]

565 As to the Religion of these people we know nothing about it, & the same may be said of their Government, only this that it seems to be
771 quite arbitrary; it was observable that the common People stood in
171 more awe of their Chiefs than the Otaheiteans, and that at Public Meetings they were kept in good order & every thing conducted with greater regularity than at that Island, which undoubtedly is
782 owing to the great Command the Chiefs have over them. On solemn Occasions they offer up human Sacrifices at these Islands, which are selected from the common People by the Chiefs who kill them with their own Hands.

122 JULY 3rd. Having procured wood & Water and a Plentiful Supply of Provisions we are making preparations for leaving the Island; this Morning we sailed out of the Harbour and at eleven o'Clock we anchored without the reef that makes the north part of the Harbour.
648 Capt[n] Cook made many Presents to the Chiefs among which were to Powlohow, a Horse and a Mare to Phenow, Sheep to Malawaggee.

[1] Though in the preceding examples of the language a number of Samwell's individual words can be disentangled, it is extremely difficult to get sense out of his connected phrases, and no attempt at their translation is here made. One exception will be enough to illustrate the difficulty: his 'Aina fogee aina fogee &c' (words repeated in 'their common Dances') may very likely stand for *ai nofo ki, ai nofo ki*, 'Keep it up this way, keep it up this way'—a natural encouragement to movement. Some Tongan scholar should certainly apply his ingenuity to the problems involved.

58: King G,T-5 (1777) 1967 OU9 Tonga OU9

& many young women were impregnable, & I am pretty well convinced that the daughters of the Principal Chiefs did not at all appear, Perhaps from a dread of that terrible distemper which we have given them.

Religion. The religious tenets of a new people must always be the most difficult part to elucidate, superstition appears in such a variety of forms, as to make, with our little knowledge of their Language, their religion a very confus'd heap of nonsense; but as this is very interesting, we endeavourd to learn something satisfactory on this head. They appear to have little conception of future punishments & rewards; but as they believe they shall be punishd in this World for crimes committ'd, they use every method not to deserve it. Their Supreme being is a female as they relate, that commands the Skies, the Thunder & Lightning, & that in her displeasure she destroys their Country, their hogs, & inflicts them with diseases; We coud not perceive that they had any external representation of this invisible supreme being, but we judged that a good deal of what we heard at the Natche were prayers address'd to her by the Priest. They believe a Plurality of Gods, all inferior to the first; some preside over the Clouds & fogs, some over the Sea &c, &c & diff[t] Islands have different religions.[1]

They have juster Ideas of the immortality & immateriality of the Soul: they call it Otooa a divinity or invisible being, & say that on the death of a Chief it seperates from his body, & goes to a place calld Boolootoo,[2] the God of which is Gooleho;[3] & they say that we & the men of Feejee as well as themselves are subject to Gooleho; but their feigning that this place is to the Westward of Feejee & supposing an everlast[g] place to be on this Globe, shews they have but confin'd notions of distance & duration; in that place they imagine they shall never suffer death again but live in abundance, upon the like products of their own Country. The Chiefs will not admit the Souls of the common People to this Priviledge, but say that a great bird call'd Loata hovers over their Graves & eats them up....

TAHITI AND THE SOCIETY ISLANDS, AUGUST–DECEMBER 1777

[*Adm 55/116, ff. 1000–112*]

AUGUST 13th [1777]. We stood for Oaite-peha bay, but at 2 PM the wind fail'd us & we attempt'd towing in with the boats; towards the Evening we had baffling wind[s] from the land & after many trials were at last oblig'd to stand off for the night. As we approach'd this Island Omai become more & more an Object of our attention; his anxiety was equal to ours, & we were glad to observe him as he grew nearer, more thoughtfull; Capt[n] Cook had taken a great deal of pains during the Voyage to prevail on Omai to agree to some certain arrangement by which his riches would be secur'd to him, & his own consequence rais'd & preserv'd, but he woud never listen to any plan, except that of destroying the bora bora chiefs &

[1] Different gods, rather.
[2] Otua was a god, not a departed soul; a chief's soul went to Pulotu. [3] Hikuleo.

64: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970,1971) 1976 OU9 Tonga OU9

DRINKING IN THE POLYNESIAN KINGDOM OF TONGA

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ABSTRACT

The paper provides information on the drinking of kava (*Piper methysticum*) in the Polynesian Kingdom of Tonga. The importance of drinking in traditional and contemporary Tongan society is discussed as well as changes which have taken place over time.

Introduction

The Kingdom of Tonga is located approximately 550 miles southwest of the islands of Samoa and approximately 450 miles southeast of the islands of Fiji. The islands have a total land mass of some 269 square miles and the largest and principal island of the group is Tongatapu Island (100 square miles). Recent Carbon 14 analysis indicates that Tongatapu was the first of the Polynesian Islands to be settled, with a Carbon 14 date indicating occupation from at least 1140 B.C. (Groube 1971:303). The estimated population of the Kingdom in December of 1973 was 92,587. The last and most thorough census of 1966 indicated that 98.31 per cent of the 77,429 inhabitants were Tongans. Tongans are strong Christians and in 1966 only 61 individuals did not list any religious affiliation (Fiefia 1968:23).

The islands were formerly a protectorate of Great Britain but on 4 June 1970 they became fully independent and entered the British Commonwealth. Tongans have a Constitutional Monarchy (dating from the Constitution of 1875) combined with a Parliament. The current monarch of Tonga, who acceded to the throne in 1967 after the death of his mother (Her Majesty Queen Salote Tupou III), is His Majesty King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV, K.C.M.G., G.C.V.O., K.B.E., C.B.E., B.A., L.L.B., and Honorary Doctor, University of the South Pacific [Knight Commander of (of the Order of) Saint Michael and Saint George; Knight Grand Cross of the (Royal) Victorian

175 [454 cont.]
123 by a number of them wherever he went. We were told that he had
565 conducted our gentlemen to two fayetòocas, and had pronounced a
[788] solemn speech or prayer, with his face directed to the building, but at times turning to captain Cook, and addressing the words to him, in a questioning tone. In these moments he always made a short pause, as if he expected an answer, and seeing a nod ensue, proceeded
175 with his speech. Sometimes, however, his memory [455] seemed to fail,
565 upon which he was prompted by another man who sat near him. From this ceremony, and the place where it was performed, we conjectured
175 that he was a priest. However, as far as we could see into their
771 religious notions, it did not appear that they practised any kind
171 of idolatry; neither did they seem to have any particular veneration for birds like the Taheitians, but to worship a supreme invisible
[764] Being. What may have induced them, as well as the people of Taheitee and the Society Isles, to unite their repositories of the dead and
000 their places of worship in one, remains in obscurity. The religious tenets of a people are the last things which strangers become acquainted with, whose knowledge of the language is commonly too imperfect. Besides this, the dialect of the church frequently differs from the common dialect, and thus religion is veiled in mysteries, especially where there are priests to take advantage of the credulity of mankind.

175 From this place we returned to the sea shore, where a brisk
439 trade for vegetables, fowls, and hogs was carried on. Here we bought
[293] a large flat shield or breast-plate, of a roundish bone, white and
[237] polished like ivory, about eighteen inches in diameter, which appeared
000 to have belonged to an animal of the cetaceous tribe. We likewise

74: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1978
(ca. 1800-1850)
OU9 Tonga OU9

127 wrote of Fae's death in August of that year:
565
643

> The death of this chief will make a considerable sensation through this island, he was the hau, or how, a conqueror. He became the how at the death of Takai, his elder brother, who was a great warrior and very successful. Fae, or Taufa, was a powerful chief, and a strong advocate for idolatry and a persecutor of true religion. He was a great polygamist, and had about 16 wives [stress added] (Thomas, Journal, August 12, 1833).

[771]
[595]

This account by Thomas points out that Fae was also hau, having succeeded his brother in the title. Where Gifford writes of Fae succeeding Takai upon Takai's death (1929: 209), he merely quotes a translation of a Tongan account which states Fae "ruled in his Takai's place at Pea." Gifford does not write of Fae as having been either hau, Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua or Tu'i Kanokupolu.

Based on Thomas' descriptions I would make a statement of ethnohistorical fact: Takai and Fae were both hau in the early 19th Century. I would not, however, state that Takai and Fae were either Tu'i Ha'a Takalaua or Tu'i Kanokupolu since there is insufficient evidence to support such a statement. In this instance, I accept Thomas' 19th Century first-hand eyewitness descriptions in preference to Gifford's 20th Century interpretations.

128 In this section I have discussed and cited three individual 19th
127 Century Wesleyan eyewitness descriptions of a particular Tongan ceremony, the hikitanga. I have demonstrated how each description is externally consistent or corroborates to some degree parts of the other individual descriptions.

127 As an ethnographer-ethnohistorian, I am not so much concerned with the uniqueness of the descriptions of the July 23, 1833, hikitanga

75: Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1940 OU9 Tonga OU9
Vava'u
Pangai

carry the saucepan and its contents to his own house. Sione lifts the saucepan and sets off, but suddenly he feels very sad because he sees that the saucepan is filled with filth, feces, and disease. He is disgusted with Pili for making him carry all this filth to his own house.

Sione had no interpretation of this dream to offer, nor am I able to give any specific meaning to the actual incidents reported. The equating of money with feces is, of course, of particular interest. Money is a valued object in Pangai today—hard to get except by the back-breaking labor of copra making, and much green copra is needed to earn a single shilling. At the same time, although a man may gain enough food for himself and his family by hard work in his bush plantation, nevertheless a minimum amount of money (which seems large to a Tongan villager) is absolutely necessary for piece goods for clothing, for kerosene, fishhooks, certain desirable European foods, and tobacco. Money for the Tongan is not yet a symbol of power, but it is still a fundamental necessity which is hard to acquire and easy to spend. With this attitude toward money, it is perhaps understandable that there should occur in this Tongan dream an identification similar to identifications that occur in our own society.[1]

Of the dreams that we collected, however, the large majority seem to be motivated by emotional conflicts over religious matters, usually anxieties over schismatic differences between the various Christian churches in Tonga. In the village of Pangai there are today three religious groups professing Wesleyan Christianity (Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga, Free Church of Tonga, Church of Tonga) and a Roman Catholic group as well. Members of the Latter Day Saints Church are found in a near-by township, and one at least of the men of Pangai professed to be a Seventh-Day Adventist—all these in a village of about 270 people. Moreover, religion for the villagers is not something merely for Sunday observance; it is a real life-and-death matter, involving prayer services on most week days, and, because church law is in many aspects of conduct identical with secular law, religious influences permeate through to every nook and corner of contemporary Tongan culture. More than any other set of values, religious values are today providing the cement that gives a significant integration to Tongan society—thus doubtless playing a role that was formerly filled by aboriginal Tongan religion. Chang in religious ideology, has occurred, but it is largely a mere variation (god substitutions, tapu substitution, etc.) on a fundamental pattern that today, as formerly, provides a cohesive force in Tongan life. By this I mean to stress the fact that the Pangai villager takes his religion seriously. It vitally affects both his living and his dying in such a fashion that it is not surprising for psychic stress to be formulated in religious terms and symbols.

The following dream, for example, suggests a phrasing of adolescent love interest in religious terms:

Case 8.—A dream of Ana, unmarried girl of 16 years. She dreamed she was walking down the village road and came to a place where the road branched. One road was narrow and dark. The other road was smooth, bright, and well

[1] See Ernest Beaglehole, *Property* (New York, 1932), pp. 266–272. Seligman in his paper on "Temperament, Conflict, and Psychosis in a Stone Age Population" (*Brit. Jour. Med. Psych.*, Vol. 9, 1929, p. 196) gives the case of a native of Massim, New Guinea, who had been serving as a store boy and suffering from delusions of grandeur in which he equated money with feces. Also, it may be noted that apart from brief maniacal attacks, Seligman (*op. cit.*, p. 195) is of the opinion that psychoses do not occur among New Guinea natives except as the result of stresses set up by white influence—a point of observation which, if true, would tend to support the theoretical position outlined in the present paper.

75: Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1940 OU9 Tonga OU9
Vava'u
Pangai

lighted. She walked down the narrow road and saw at the end a burning house inside of which many of her relatives were being burned alive. She asked them if she should open the door to allow them to escape. They called out to her to run away, that she was not wanted. She ran down the road and awoke feeling very frightened. 159

Ana was then serving as our housegirl. Being a Roman Catholic, she was being educated at a convent, but was home on holiday. She was being courted on the sly by Avai, a second cousin, a member of the Free Church of Tonga. Her mother disapproved of Avai and in any case wished her to marry a Roman Catholic man only after she had attended school for some years further. Ana was using the privilege of being our housegirl, and thus directly out of her mother's guardianship for most of the day, to arrange occasional meetings with Avai in or about our cookhouse. It was obvious that she found the stolen meetings sweet even though well aware that Avai should carry on his courting, according to Tongan practice, only when a chaperon was present and, preferably, in her mother's house. This conflict is presumably adequate motivation for Ana's dream, the two roads symbolizing her temptation, burning in fire the reward of sinners, and rejection by her relatives symbolizing the manner in which she might have to quarrel with them should she allow the courtship to continue. 159 154 571 582

I have record of twelve further dreams given to us by informants within the course of a single week, in each of which religious symbolism is plain and usually refers to anxieties over church teaching—the end of the world, punishment of sinners, worries over interdoctrinal differences. These anxieties often appear to be increased by the fact that the relatives of the dreamer belong to other sects than the dreamer's, and so, to one who takes his religion seriously, intellectual disagreement is heightened by the necessity of believing that one's relatives are indubitably headed straight for an eternal hell fire. Two dreams may be given to illustrate the patterning of this form of emotional conflict over sectarianism. 154 771 602

Case 9.—Dreams of Sigaleti, married man about 58 years old. The dreamer and many of his friends were sitting in a large Tongan house that had two open doorways. Suddenly, a large sheet of fire came rapidly toward the house. A man stood up ordering Sigaleti to leave by one door, his friends by the other. Outside the house Sigaleti saw the flames devouring all his friends. 159

The second dream: The dreamer saw an angel flying in the sky. In one hand it carried a book, in the other a sword. The angel alighted on the ground. Suddenly, Sigaleti saw a man named Povai (a relative, Roman Catholic) reading from the book, and he heard the words: "There are three men. Two shall live and one shall die." Sigaleti asked for the book, but the angel flew away.

The religious phrasing of both these dreams is clear. Sigaleti is a somewhat morose and dour-looking Tongan. He rarely smiles, wearing instead a look of patient and absorptive brooding that is uncommon in the Tongan. He took every opportunity to ply us with questions about religious matters, disputes over Christian doctrine and the like. Immediately before he had these dreams, Sigaleti had left the Free Wesleyan Church and had joined the Free Church. The first dream appears to provide obvious justification for the change (a change, incidentally, that provoked much discussion, criticism, and gossip in the village); the second dream suggests that Sigaleti is worrying about the validity of Roman Catholicism. That these interpretations are not purely subjective on my part is supported by the fact that when I outlined them for Sigaleti he confessed quite voluntarily that he wished he could take his mind off religious matters but that he thought of them day and night. 157 159 771

75: Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1940 0U9 Tonga 0U9
Vava'u
Pangai

PSYCHOSIS AND RELIGIOUS SYMBOLISM

121 The dreams that I have so far mentioned are of interest because they give an indication of some of the main lines of psychic stress in a Tongan village. 158 Through the courtesy of Dr. J. C. Lopdell I was able also to observe a manic-[114] depressive patient, the onset of whose psychosis seems to be due to anxiety 158 over the welfare of an adolescent daughter. The patterning of the psychosis 771 is almost exclusively in terms of symbolism taken from Wesleyan Christianity. This again suggests the significance of religion in the everyday life of the Tongans. None thought it strange or unusual that religion should figure so prominently in the symptoms of the psychotic. The interest of this case justifies a full description. I present it therefore as I recorded it at the time.

158 *Case 10.*—Manic-depressive psychosis. There was a message awaiting the 159 doctor when we came back to dinner, asking him to go down to the jail. The jailer's wife had been screaming and yelling and fighting all night, apparently, and all day. Could he do anything for her? The doctor sent up to the hospital for some morphine and a hypodermic syringe. We both went to the jail. The jailer's wife was sitting on the floor in a small, dark, windowless cell, her husband hanging to one arm, a friend clutching the other. Every few minutes she vomited forth a flood of excited Tongan, then screeched and struggled and cursed everyone present. She was quite obviously in a manic state, and morphine brought an immediate release for her and a few hours' rest for her guardians.

Her history, as her daughter Mele gave it, is significant for the sidelight it gives on Tongan life today. The woman was always considered peculiar by her friends, in the sense that she showed little discretion—had no feeling for the Aristotelian golden mean, if you like—in the way she carried out Tongan patterns of behavior. She always went to church more frequently than her neighbors, prayed more vigorously, sang more loudly. Whenever there was a feast or a gift-giving, she wasted more food than her friends and gave away in an unseemly fashion everything her hands touched in her house. She was definitely queer, both her family and her friends were sure. Moreover, all her pride and affection were centered on her daughter Mele, a buxom, full-spirited, definitely pretty lass of about seventeen with a high reputation as a dancer and definitely attractive to the local youth. Quite recently Mele had visited Nukualofa and unofficially borrowed two "hot-cha" gramophone records to take with her as a present to some Nukualofa lad. There was some unpleasantness over the records when Mele returned to Neiafu. Most forgot about the matter, except Mele's mother and one of her local church enemies, an old hag who probably envied Mele her youth. Quite recently the mother and the hag had been quarrelling violently, the backbiting coming to a head the day before we visited the jail, when the hag, seeking to score a body blow, threatened to revive public interest in Mele's gramophone records and have Mele committed to jail as a common thief. The blow was shrewd and thoughtless, probably. But it lodged against the mother's unbalanced head. She went to bed worrying. She awoke in the middle of the night a raving maniac.

The interest of all this, I take it, is the way in which Mele's mother patterns 158 her anxiety. She is deeply religious, slightly unbalanced, devoted to her 159 daughter, and intensely worried about the daughter. The strain is too strong 771 for her mind to bear. She suffers from mania. And the maniacal ravings are all phrased in religious concepts. She calls Mele pure, unsullied, lovely, a true bride of Christ. She prays incessantly to God, urging him, nay, demanding of him that he forgive and protect her daughter from any shameful harm. She offers herself as a sacrifice to atone for Mele's possible sinfulness. Then

75: Beaglehole E-5 (1938-1939) 1940 OU9 Tonga OU9
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Pangai

she curses all her enemies and freely predicts for them all the major and minor horrors of a Wesleyan hell. She struggles hard and excitedly to free herself from restraining hands that she may make herself the instrument of God's vengeance here and now. The ravings and the strugglings go on incessantly. One cannot doubt, as one listens, that Christianity in its Wesleyan variety has laid the deepest and most indelible impress on the woman's mind, giving shape and form to all her worries and to all her blind striving to set her mind once more at ease. All this proves that religion is the mortar that holds together at least one Tongan woman's mind and, to vary the metaphor, provides the form in which the sick mind sets when it tries to cure itself by going insane.

Dr. Lopdell continued to treat this patient for some days. Then her relatives decided that native medicine might be more efficacious. They therefore called in a Tongan expert who diagnosed the case as one of possession by an evil spirit. The woman was thereafter dosed and manipulated and whipped in an effort to attract or drive the spirit from her body. At latest report she is surviving this treatment and apparently making a slow recovery. Her recovery, however, is never likely to be permanent.

I have brief notes from Dr. Lopdell of another manic patient, a mixed-blood girl of about twenty, the onset of whose psychosis was apparently due to thwarting in love combined with a hypersensitiveness and who felt inferiority regarding her social status among the small European community in Neiafu. Her two brothers had also displayed psychotic tendencies. As with the patient mentioned above, the girl's symptoms patterned themselves in terms of religious symbols.

Dr. Lopdell mentioned four or five other cases of Tongan insanity in which religion had played a similar role. And those who know Tongan life today realize full well that Wesleyan Christianity has come to full seeding in the life and behavior of the modern—and normal—Tongan. Churchgoing occupies a large part of his time: four times each Sunday and three times each week as a matter of normal routine; a week of churchgoing twice each day, to celebrate each new year; miscellaneous services and prayer meetings seemingly thrown in on the slightest excuse. Behind are laws of the state that not only establish a church, but implement its morality with secular authority, and a short 19th-century church history which includes among other minor events a major record of religious persecutions, exilings, and organized religious warfare—Wesleyans against heathens, Wesleyans against Roman Catholics, Wesleyans against Wesleyan schisms and Wesleyan defections. The record is not a pretty one, but if the events have done nothing else, they have at least burned Wesleyan Christianity into the hearts and minds of these Tongan people; burned it deeply, painfully, but indelibly.

Tongan life today, therefore, has been born from the mating of John Wesley's teaching with the customs of a pagan people. The birth was clumsily caesarian. Plenty of blood was spilled and a good deal of tissue that got in the way was roughly extirpated. The now adult child, however, is seemingly strong and prosperous.

Summary

The case material here presented suggests the value of a study of psychic stress in a primitive community, specifically in a present-day Tongan village. It enables us not only to revalue the predominant cultural norms in such a community, but also to trace out the lines of stress which result from the impact of such norms upon the personalities of individual members of the society. Such study is important in an aboriginal culture relatively untouched

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
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Using their personal power the chiefs would seize anything that might arrest their fancy. Referring to this situation Vason recalled:

> They [the chiefs] exercise an arbitrary power over the lower orders, and have everything belonging to them in their power, which their sub-officers take from them, without ceremony, as the chief may need. Though the provision they have by them be ever so scanty, they are required to cook a part of it for the chief; so that they are frequently obliged to eat the root of the plantain-tree, for a wretched subsistence . . . . (Orange 1840:124)

More seriously, traditions were questioned, and the validity and effectiveness of the traditional religion were doubted by some. This was inevitable for usually a religion is required by people to explain how the universe works. The impact of the growing contact with Fiji, and with the Europeans—explorers, traders, whalers, beachcombers and L.M.S. missionaries—in particular, shook the foundations of the traditional cosmology. Many of the leading Tongans, therefore, were anxious to acquire a new cosmology to explain the new circumstances with which they were now confronted.

When the Tu'i Tonga ventured to advise Fīnau 'Ulukālala II on some matters of warfare, the latter replied, 'My Lord Tooitonga may return to his own part of the island, and content himself in peace and security; matters of war are my concern, and in which he has no right to interfere' (Martin 1827, II:126). He also terminated the traditional ceremony of *'inasi* at Ha'apai and Vava'u because he regarded it as useless and wasteful, and he thus deprived the Tu'i Tonga of the most important religious ceremony offered to him, as being representative of the deity Hikule'o. After Fīnau's death in 1809, it was revealed that he had planned to have the priest of the god Tupou Toutai strangled, because he had failed to secure the help of the gods in saving the life of his daughter who died from illness shortly before his own death (Martin 1827, I:307).

This was the situation into which the Wesleyan missionaries came. It was a period of political instability with several unsuccessful attempts to gain absolute power over the whole of Tonga, which were vigorously resisted, particularly on Tongatapu

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
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mission centres because it was more convenient to live close to the schools. Still others were attracted by the medical services which the missionaries provided. The missionaries claimed that one of the places thus created was Nuku'alofa, the present capital of Tonga, and were very proud of it. Amos wrote of its development:

> The modern town of Nukualofa is purely a creation of Christianity; and . . . its present population has been gathered by the gospel alone . . . Nukualofa was ever an obscure village, with a small population of less than one hundred persons, (except when fortified in time of war as a place of refuge for other villages,) until the *lotu* collected from all parts of the island a population peculiarly its own, which now amounts to upwards of one thousand two hundred; and the reigning Tuikanokubolú has constituted it the metropolis of his ocean empire. Thus Christian Missions are founding cities, each of which, we hope, will become 'an eternal excellency, the joy of many generations'. (*W-M Mag.*, 1854:870)

Some new centres were established as a result of the persecution of Christian converts who were driven from their own villages. Some of these joined Christian villages or towns, but others started new settlements. The village of Fatai in Tongatapu was established by a man who had been driven out of Houma on account of his conversion. This redistribution of population in Tonga was a spontaneous response of the people to the new demands and challenges which confronted them, in marked contrast to what happened in Tahiti, for example, where the L.M.S. missionaries deliberately tried to move the people from their traditional habitats into new villages where mission activities were centred.

In the Christian towns and villages in Tonga the missionaries were able to exert considerable influence upon the growing Christian population, and as things began to settle, a new set of superstitious beliefs began to gather round Christianity itself. Natural disasters, sickness and misfortunes were now attributed by many to the anger of Jehovah, and prosperity and good health to His good will. As the missionaries were viewed as men of God their property was regarded as sacred. The mission property and the Bible in particular were held in utmost reverence. The old

79: Lātūkefu H,I, M-4,5 (1964-1965) 1974
(1822-1875)
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superstitious beliefs had now lost their former crude objects, but found new and more refined ones. There is no evidence to show that the missionaries either deliberately encouraged or discouraged these attitudes. Such beliefs became firmly entrenched in the minds of the Tongans and persisted for many decades. I can recall as a child how a neighbour, whenever her husband was away and she was left with her children in the house at night, used to place an open Bible by the doorway in order to prevent evil spirits from entering and harming the children. In 1952, an old Tongan minister confessed to the President of the Methodist Church from his sick bed that his sickness was caused by his using as firewood to cook his food old pieces of timber left under the local church after it had been renovated. He asked the President to pray for his recovery. The reverence and awe in which missionaries were held helped to consolidate their work and further enhanced their role as political advisers.

82: Leach E-4 (no date) 1972 OU9 Tonga OU9

and female potencies of the Tu'i Tonga and the Tu'i Tonga Fefine (as in *Figure 3*, p. 261).

The last alternative is no more metaphysical then the normal Christian assertion that, in the Mass, the bread and the wine become the body and blood of Jesus Christ and, in some mystical sense, a manifestation of his purifying potency.

This homology with the Christian Mass seems to me too striking to be ignored, but how should we explain it? Does it arise from a subliminal influence of Christian ideas working on the minds of recent Tongan mythographers (*supra*, p. 242), or does it represent a direct parallel between traditional Christianity and traditional Polynesian thought at a structural level of apprehension? As to the first of these alternatives, we have evidence that, in at least one detail, the mythology has undergone a recent modification to keep it in line with a modification of the ritual. Bott I says that the leper girl on 'Eueiki was pounded to death; it thus fits the modern procedure of pounding the kava root. But Bott tells us that the substitution of pounding for chewing in the actual ritual is a recent innovation (*supra*, p. 244).

Evidence of this kind is bound to raise doubts about how far we can regard *any* of the mythology as traditionally authentic, but my own view, for what it is worth, is that the Christian era modifications of pre-Christian materials have not been substantial. It is rather that the more or less accidental fit between certain themes in Polynesian kinship ideology and certain aspects of the Christian dogma of the Virgin Birth have provided a favourable climate for the survival of a very un-Christian body of mythology.

In my own words, the kava ceremonial reduced to its most skeletal form may be described as follows:

> A semi-poisonous food substance (the kava plant) is first identified with the Presiding Chief, then it is removed from him and ritually processed according to the instructions of the Presiding *Matāpule* so as to convert it into a sacramental drink which is then imbibed by all the principal title holders present.

82: Leach E-4 (no date) 1972 OU9 Tonga OU9

There is a *direct* parallel between this ritual performance and the theme of cannibalism in Bott II. The parallel is also very Christian. The sacramental kava is the 'body and blood of the sacrificed man-god'.

But the mythology of Bott I suggests a different pattern, for in the latter case the emphasis is on paired oppositions rather than assimilation, and on incestuous and non-incestuous sex relations between men and women rather than on love-hate relationships between men.

In the real life ceremonial the *'alofi* circle is in two halves and the semi-circle of the presiding chief stands in polar opposition to the semi-circle of the kava bowl (Bott, *Figure 2*, p. 209).

Considering the sequence as a whole, both in its ritual and in its mythological aspects the following paired relationships are implied, with the qualification, already noted (p. 264), that the (apparent) relative secularity of food as against drink may be a recent modification:

Ritual oppositions				*Mythological oppositions*	
Chief's semi-circle		*kava bowl semi-circle*			
matāpule	: chief	kava maker	: kava		
secular	: sacred	food	: drink	sugar cane	: kava
				non-poisonous	: poisonous
				beautiful	: leprous
				son	: daughter
				male	: female

This patterning of ritual and mythological ideas exists in a secular context in which there is a real life 'contradiction' by which, although titles pass from fathers to sons, sisters rank higher than brothers (*supra*, p. 246).

It is an arrangement that provides the framework for a ritual enactment of a marked ambivalence in the relationship between the presiding chief and the presiding matāpule (*supra*, p. 262). The *manifest* behaviour in the ritual is one of friendly gift-giving, but the implications of the mythical background

82: Leach E-4 (no date) 1972 0U9 Tonga 0U9

are that there is an undercurrent of jealousy and hate (*supra*, p. 258) and that the assembled matāpule are only willing to recognize the potency of ritual chieftainship because they are concerned to assimilate that potency to themselves.

For those who are prepared to give any credence at all to this style of analysis the general significance of the ceremony has by now become very obvious, indeed it has been indicated already at several points during the course of this essay.[11]

When the male titleholders sitting in the *'alofi* circle drink the kava and receive the distributions of sugar cane these are sacramental foods in the same sense as are the bread and wine of the Christian Mass. At a mystical level they are the equivalent of the divine potency that distinguishes the Tu'i Tonga and the Tu'i Tonga Fefine from ordinary mortals.

Of the two substances, it is the kava rather than the sugar cane that now carries real sacramental value and the significance of this fact is to be found in the circumstance that not only are the Tu'i Tonga descended from an original incestuous relationship between a male and female Tu'i Tonga but that the matāpule are likewise so descended. 'A great aristocrat is one descended, preferably through a line of elder sisters, from the elder sister of the Tu'i Tonga' (Bott, p. 218).

By the ritual drinking of kava the titleholder concerned reaffirms his aristocratic status, he assimilates to himself once again the magical, matrilineally inherited, potency of his divine ancestors. By so doing he asserts his equality, or even his superiority, to the personal status of his presiding chief.

When one considers that in Christian theology, Jesus is divine by filiation from the Father but human and royal by an ambiguous filiation through the mother, it is not after all surprising that the kava mythology, in its modern form, despite the hints of cannibalism and incest, should make mystical. sense to devout Christians.

Tongans gave honour to women of high chiefly rank. The eldest daughter of the Tu'i Tonga was the Tu'i Tonga Fefine (= female) who received greater respect than even her father or brother Her daughter was called the Tamaha (= Sacred Child) to whom even the Tu'i Tonga made obeisance. The first Tamaha was the daughter of a Fijian chief from Lakeba, in the Lau group, who married the Tu'i Tonga Fefine, in the early 17th Century; the last Tamaha died in 1852.(7)

Through careful inter-marriage the chiefs preserved physical and mental superiority over the commoners. Though the chiefs had unlimited power and were often oppressive they received from their people a loyalty that has remained a characteristic feature of Tongan society. Tongans were industrious to the extent that life in their fertile islands required and their service to the chiefs necessitated. They, however, were regarded as rather indolent in contrast with their neighbours in Fiji. The Tongans' pride was not only a relic of past domination over other island groups. They had abilities that marked them as an outstanding race. Ingenious, enterprising, self-reliant, they have been able to extricate themselves from difficulties that would daunt most Europeans.(8)

The most important of the early voyagers who visited Tonga, Tasman (1643) and Cook (1773-4-7), gave testimony to the Tongans' peaceful and prosperous state. They noted the gardens, carefully cultivated and surrounded with reed fences, and the trim tree-lined paths connecting plantations. The people did not live in villages and there was no sign of political unrest or dissension. It was boasted that proclamations could be shouted from one household to another and taken across the island of Tongatapu in a very short time.

Captain Cook's eulogies gave "The Friendly Islands" the attraction of a tropical paradise that aroused false expectations in the minds of many ship captains afterwards. Attacks on ships were due to a desire for the treasures suddenly brought into their remote islands rather than to any latent savagery in the Tongans' nature. Normally the people were friendly and hospitable, with genuine affection in their own domestic relationships and a prevailing gaiety and good humour. Their natural buoyancy of spirit was displaced only by fears of death or other impending disasters and, when faced with these, they had recourse to their religion.

Tongans sat lightly by their religion except in times of distress and danger.(9) Then they brought offerings to the priests' houses, sitting outside and making supplication through the priests to the spirits in Pulotu, the paradise beyond the ocean; these spirits, it was believed, had power over life and death. There was no public worship. Music, of which Tongans were very fond, was not associated with religion. The fear in which the gods were held made music inappropriate. Tongans sang only in festival dances which gave the setting for their treasured lyrics, and in canoe journeys and working parties on shore.

Religion was bound up with the social system. Because the Tu'i Tonga was believed to be divinely descended the chiefs who were related to his line by marriage shared in the reverence accorded to him. So many chiefs were closely related to the Tu'i Tonga that a visitor like Cook was easily puzzled by the many who received quasi-royal honours. The chiefs received offerings for both religious and social reasons. Pulotu was reserved for them; commoners, it was held, had no souls and were not entitled to an after-life.

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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[1806 - 1822]

ever, arrested the Vava'u chiefs who had fought against him; those who were not clubbed were drowned outside the harbour in old leaky canoes. Finau was now at the height of his power. He felt so confident that he even defied the gods. 175 669 634

Finau was not alone in the new spirit of scepticism about religion that had accompanied the general attitude of rebellion and unrest. Collocott, with his years of residence and research in Tonga, has written — 175 634 771

> "By the close of the 18th Century there was working a leaven of rationalism which recognized, however sporadically, the weakness of a king who did not govern, and of a god who did not influence the harvest."

Collocott believed that there would have been a revolution in Tongan society even without missionary influence, but the change was hastened by the coming of Europeans and the new religion.(8)

For some time Finau had been notorious for his irreverence towards the gods. His beloved daughter died soon after the end of the rebellion in Vava'u. Instead of mourning he ordered sports and mass fights, an unheard-of reversal of custom. The mass fights included a grim combat with 1,500 women in each party, representing the two sides of the island of Vava'u. He himself joined in the men's fight and was much exhausted by his exertions. The night following he showed sudden and alarming signs of illness. Fearing the worst, his attendants strangled one of his children to appease the gods, and then carried off Finau's body to the houses of various priests; these visits of intercession continued even after the chief had expired. Then it became known that Finau had sent two men with a rope to strangle the priest of one of the gods, and the horrified people firmly concluded that his death was the result of the gods' rage at this gross act of impiety. Thus perished the man who, more than any other, was responsible for the sufferings of these turbulent years. Unfortunately, the spirit of rebellion and unsettlement did not die with him.

Young Mariner was witness and chronicler of the events of the four years, 1806-10. Well educated, he was also most observant and blessed with a retentive memory. After Finau's death, Mariner was befriended by the son, Moengangongo, whose amiable disposition was in complete contrast to his father's character, and who encouraged peace and the cultivation of the country that had been ravaged by years of war and plundering. To Moengangongo's genuine sorrow Mariner took advantage of a ship calling at Vava'u in December 1810 to return to England. He communicated his extensive knowledge of Tongan customs and the history of the period, together with a considerable vocabulary and a grammar, to a London surgeon, Dr. John Martin. *An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands,* published in two volumes in 1817, was the most detailed and reliable description of any Pacific Islands group in the early 19th Century. 175 177

No European recorded the events of the twelve years between Mariner's departure and the coming of the first Wesleyan missionary in 1822. It was during this period that there emerged the figure of Taufa'ahau who was to have by far the strongest influence on the future fortunes of Tonga and to deserve the unique respect in which the people still hold him. [799] 175 643

Taufa'ahau was the grandson of Tuku'aho who had been murdered in 1799, and the son of Tupouto'a who became Tu'i Kanokupolu in 1812. Tupouto'a waged war to enforce his authority, especially in rebellious Tongatapu, and this continued the country's misery.

/see 2 and 3: Mariner, this file -- Analyst/

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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[1820 - 1852]

Tupouto'a died in 1820 and was buried at 'Uiha, Ha'apai, close to the grave of Tupouniua whom he had murdered in 1807. Taufa'ahau was about twenty-three years old at the time of his father's death. No attempt was made to appoint him or anyone else as Tu'i Kanokupolu after Tupouto'a's death; so great was the unsettlement that the title temporarily lapsed. The only objection to Taufa'ahau was that he would be too energetic a ruler to please the rebels in Tongatapu who were led by the Ha'a Havea chiefs, the continuing core of opposition in Tongatapu to every Tu'i Kanokupolu in the previous twenty years. The Ha'a Havea chiefs, with their villages, were Ma'afu (Vaini), Lavaka (Pea), Vaea (Houma), Tu'ivakano (Nukunuku), Fielakepa (Havelu), and Fohe (Puke). The position of Tu'i Kanokupolu was left vacant until 1827, and sporadic fighting went on in Tongatapu. 175 643 669 622

Collocott, Gifford, and Latukefu, commenting on the events of these disturbed times, agree that, whether Taufa'ahau eventually became a Christian and whether he was disposed to induce others to become Christians or not, he would have been opposed always by the Ha'a Havea chiefs who were responsible also for the later wars of 1835, 1837, 1840, and 1852. When Tupouto'a was dying he told his son that, if he wished to rule all Tonga, he must defeat the Ha'a Havea chiefs. In 1827 the chiefs rejected forceful Taufa'ahau and elected Aleamotu'a, son of Mumui, younger brother of Tuku'aho (assassinated in 1799), and great-uncle of Taufa'ahau, as Tu'i Kanokupolu. This they did deliberately because they knew Aleamotu'a pusillanimous nature and expected that their arbitrary conduct would be unfettered by his nominal authority.

So confused were the years following the death of Tupouto'a in 1820 that there was no Tu'i Tonga also. Laufilitonga, who became Tu'i Tonga in 1827, was Taufa'ahau's rival in Ha'apai for influence over that group. He had cause to resent Taufa'ahau's masterful interference in preventing his sister from becoming Laufilitonga's principal wife. Laufilitonga's fort in Lifuka was Velata; Taufa'ahau's was Pangai. In the first encounter Laufilitonga proved stronger and Taufa'ahau retired to the south where he received reinforcements from the islands of Nomuka and Ha'afeva as well as some parts of Tongatapu. He returned to defeat Laufilitonga decisively and to capture Velata in 1826. In this fight Taufa'ahau was slightly wounded, this being noteworthy as the only occasion when this happened. He declared that he had called on the gods to defend his back but a warrior speared him from behind in the left calf, whereupon Taufa'ahau denounced the gods as impotent. After this victory in 1826 all Ha'apai accepted Taufa'ahau's rule, except those whom he put in canoes and told to go wherever they pleased, except to Tongatapu. They disobeyed and were welcomed by the Ha'a Havea chiefs in Tongatapu. Laufilitonga himself was in this party, but he desisted from open opposition to Taufa'ahau when he became Tu'i Tonga the following year, 1827. In 1833 Taufa'ahau completed his defiance of Laufilitonga by taking his bride, Lupe Pau'u, to whom he was married by the missionaries with Christian rites in 1834. [771] [797] [585]

In his pre-Christian days Taufa'ahau was wilful and violent. Gradually these characteristics were modified while his ability and energies became clearer and were more wisely directed. He is justly honoured as "The Maker of Modern Tonga". His long life spanned the whole of the critical period of its transition from disunity and unsettlement to its modern orderly position. He was the one mainly responsible for this. In his youth his physical strength, his athletic prowess, his natural courage, 175 643

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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797 643 346 regarded as gods were placed at the foot of the pulpit stairs. Taufa'ahau preached at the opening, taking as his text Solomon's words at the opening of the temple in Jerusalem (I Kings viii. 27). While the chapel was in course of construction Taufa'ahau had found that the pulpit was higher than his own chair which stood on the dais at the side of the chapel. As, in Tongan custom, no one, foreigner or Tongan, should be higher than the chief, he ordered the workmen to raise his chair so that he could look down on the preacher. However, he readily yielded to persuasion and admitted that it was not necessary that he should be elevated in a place of worship.

797 795 When the Lifuka chapel was built there was said to be only one unbaptized person left in the whole of the Ha'apai group. By October 1834, James Watkin himself had baptized 2,570 adults and 891 children; he had also performed the marriage ceremony for 754 couples. One of the last baptized was the Tamaha

797 795 644 who had long resisted the appointment of any teacher to Tungua, her island in western Ha'apai. John Thomas visited Tungua for her baptism on 12 January 1835 when she took the name Amelia Jane. In later years the Tamaha became blind and so infirm that she was carried to church.[23]

797 771 It was inevitable that many of those who professed conversion in the mass movement in Ha'apai were little more than Christians in name. Almost too much had been attempted too quickly by the missionaries. James Watkin and Peter Turner were disturbed because of the continued prevalence of immorality and other habits unworthy of converts. With such a widely scattered group as Ha'apai, closer supervision and the provision of more trained Tongan teachers were needed.

* * * *

797 643 634 In Vava'u the evangelization of the population occurred in the same rapid manner as in Ha'apai and again through the influence of Taufa'ahau. At first Finau 'Ulukalala was stolidly opposed to the new faith. His attitude had been seen in his prohibition against the three Borabora L.M.S. teachers from 1822 to 1830, and he made this policy clear to John Williams when he met him in July 1830. By sending messages and by conversation when he met Taufa'ahau, Finau earnestly endeavoured to dissuade the chief of Ha'apai from accepting Christianity. Both before and after his visit to Lifuka in July 1830 this was evident. Once he added to his request the present of a large canoe which, Taufa'ahau declared, would make good firewood! Seemingly still adamant, Finau, however, was beginning to feel the current of popular feeling moving against him. A few of his people had gone to Ha'apai in their desire to learn the new religion. Taufa'ahau also was relentless in the pressure he exerted on Finau to persuade him to change.

Aleamotu'a Tupou in Tongatapu supported Taufa'ahau in urging Finau to accept the new religion. Finau used the services of a stranded English sailor in Vava'u to write to Nathaniel Turner, at the same time as he replied to one of Aleamotu'a's messages. The sincerity of this strange epistle may well be doubted as it was written on 19 March 1829, a year before he emphasized his hostility to Christian teaching when he met John Williams in Lifuka. The letter to Nathaniel Turner read as follows:—

> "Sir, I am so glad to hear that you are at Tongatapu, teaching my friend Tupou to know the Great God. I hope you will be so kind as to send to Port Jackson" (i.e., Sydney) "for more missionaries to come to my land, to teach me and my people. . . .

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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of women, led by the chieftainess who would have been Tu'i Tonga Fefine, placed around Thurston's neck the garland offered to the Tu'i Tonga as a sacred duty in ancient times.(23)

Baker's career of thirty years as missionary and Premier closed in humiliating circumstances. He had many achievements in secular affairs to his credit — his advice to the king in earlier years, the draft of the Constitution, and his administration since 1880 which, in spite of the confusion of the period, had shown his executive ability and his flair for legislation in many fields. He might have prolonged his regime and added to his administrative record had it not been for his controversial policies.

The saddest legacy of Baker's thirty years was a divided Tonga, with memories of quarrels and persecutions that would delay any possibility of unity for many a long year. The old Tongan proverb was applied to Baker — "The string-ray has gone but the barb is left".

* * * *

The departure of Baker was acclaimed by the Church in Australia as a vindication of the Wesleyans' cause; their jubiliation was not helpful to the delicate situation in Tonga. Baker's removal made no difference whatever to the Free Church party. Sir John Thurston, writing on the day Baker left (17 July 1890), made this clear to Dr. Kelynack, President of the Australian General Conference —

> "The King and all the higher chiefs who met His Excellency appear firmly attached to the Free Church. Any indication of an attack upon it would, in His Excellency's opinion, be followed by a determined resistance." (24)

Thurston believed that, if Tonga was recognized as a Conference, as recommended by George Brown, re-union was possible; but this, unfortunately, was an unsubstantial hope.

After Baker's removal the king readily assented to the return of the exiled Wesleyans who had been at Koro, in Fiji, for over three years. They now numbered 130, including children. Sir John Thurston and his staff personally farewelled them on the wharf in Suva. Tupou's daughter, Salote, was one of them. They returned to Nuku'alofa on 19 August 1890, in no exultant spirit, but with the Tongan traditional forms of humility and submission to the king. Some of the Free Church ministers who had often made pointed allusions to an imagined threat of British annexation went so far as to preach against the returning Wesleyans, alleging falsely that they had taken the oath of allegiance to the British Crown during their sojourn in Fiji.

That genuine religion could survive the bitter strife of the previous decade was little short of miraculous. Religion had been indeed discredited in the eyes of many people, Tongans and Europeans. Basil Thomson, though not unbiassed concerning Missions, had grounds for his observation:

> "The Tongans, an intelligent people . . . have seen the Mission first support and then dismiss their Chairman for questionable practices. They have seen religion and the Churches made use of as a mere political instrument for the personal aggrandizement of one man. . . . It is to be feared that the Tongans, with whom religion has already become a mere form, will have little to show for the self-denying work of the early missionaries." (25)

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

[1885 - 1892]

It was soon apparent that reunion was impossible. The wounds were still too deep for the Wesleyans, and the fomented fears of a foreign ecclesiastical affiliation were too strong for the Free Church party. In 1894, General Conference resolved that there should not be

> "any continuation of the attempt to bring about a union of the two Churches . . . but to work quietly side by side . . . and by acts of kindness and conciliation endeavour to secure the present harmony and future union of the two Churches."

These were wise words, but the "future union" did not come for another thirty years.

The Free Church held its Annual Conference after the pattern of the Wesleyan Conferences in Australia and New Zealand. Watkin was elected President every year. Baker attended as a minister and supported Watkin, from 1885 until 1889. From 1885 onwards salaries for Tongan ministers were fixed at a much higher rate than in the Wesleyan Church. The full name, as stated in the Constitution of 8 August 1885, "Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga", was used in the Minutes of the first three Conferences, but "Free Church of Tonga" was substituted from 1888, without any resolution authorizing the change. The 1888 Conference decided to send a donation for work among Maoris and Chinese; this was in lieu of missionary collections sent by the Wesleyan Church and a substitute also for giving workers for overseas fields. A branch of the Free Church was established in Samoa for the benefit of Tongans living there; it lapsed after a few years. Later, another branch was set up in the Lau group of Fiji for local Tongans.

Despite criticisms such as Basil Thomson had expressed about the state of religion in general, the small Wesleyan Church showed signs of spiritual strength as well as denominational loyalty. Persecution had refined the lives of its members. They also cherished the Moulton tradition of academic learning and biblical scholarship, notwithstanding the element of elitism which this gave. In a different sense the Free Church, much larger, showed its loyalty as well as an elation due to complete local control. Whatever Watkin's motives had been for deserting his former Church, he was always anxious that Methodist principles and piety should be preserved among his people.

The Wesleyans were distinguished by their participation in overseas service. George Brown, as Missionary Secretary, stimulated this spirit. Offers of service from ministers and pastor-teachers were readily made for the new Mission that Brown established in Papua (Islands Region) in 1891. Other Tongan missionaries served in New Britain and, later, in the Solomon Islands.

After the departure of Moulton (1888) and Crosby (1892), the Wesleyans generally had only one missionary. James A. Bowring, who arrived in 1890, was in charge of the Church from 1892 to 1895. James Egan Moulton, B.A., born in Nuku'alofa in 1869, and educated at the Leys School, Cambridge, with his uncle, Dr. Fiddian Moulton, and at Newington College, Sydney, followed his father in the ministry and served at Tupou College for seven years, 1896-1903 (and at times in 1893-6 before entering the ministry).

Dr. Moulton, absent from Tonga since 1888, made a brief visit in September 1891, when he met the king and was received cordially after the many years of estrangement. He was anxious to return to work in Tonga and, in November 1892, the General Conference Committee on Tongan Affairs discussed the matter at great length for three days and decided against his return.

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
OU9 Tonga OU9

[1942 - 1972]

Chapter XVIII.

"SWIMMING AGAINST THE CURRENT" IN A SECULAR AGE

Inevitably Tonga has been brought into closer contact with the outside world. Its material needs have led to an increase in trade. New forms of communication and travel have removed it from comparative isolation. Tonga is affected by a world which is dominated by materialistic aims. As with other lands, Tonga, too, is feeling the influence of new forces that often come into conflict with its religious life.

In May 1961, Dr. John 'Amanaki Havea presided over the Conference of Churches and Missions in the Pacific, held in Samoa; it was the first inter-church meeting of Pacific Islands Christians. This assembly grappled with the new situation of Christianity in the Pacific, as it said, "swimming against the current". The current of secularism has threatened to engulf the spiritual ideals of many communities. Secularism has mocked the optimism of the missionary slogan at the beginning of the 20th Century: "The evangelization of the whole world in this generation". Religion in Tonga and other Pacific Islands is neither the excrescence nor the irrelevance it is held to be in some Western countries but, on the other hand, it is no longer with many islanders the all-absorbing interest that it was in the early days of the Missions. With some it has become almost a formality. The Church in Tonga realizes this and it is now engaged in what has been called "Second Generation Evangelism".

The impact of World War II was partly responsible for the change. The presence of Allied troops with their material resources brought Tongans face to face with a world based on power and wealth, not on moral and spiritual values. Tonga was fortunate in being entirely spared the sufferings of New Guinea and the Solomons where Japanese occupation inflicted hardship and death on the population. In more subtle ways Tonga was affected by its contact with many representatives of Western society. Allied troops were stationed on Tongatapu from early in 1942; at first these were Americans and, when they were removed to forward areas, New Zealanders took their place. As many as 10,000 overseas servicemen were stationed in Tongatapu at one time. This occupation brought mixed benefits, the easy flow of money and the introduction of the Tongans to a new scale of values.

During the war period the Crown Prince, Taufa'ahau, returned from his studies abroad and quickly assumed a prominent place in Government administration. After education at Tupou College and Newington College, Sydney, he had proceeded to the University of Sydney where he graduated Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Laws while he was a resident student at Wesley College. He was the first Tongan University graduate. Always he was an avid reader and a keen student of world affairs. His travels in later years enlarged his experience

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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unemployment and an increase in crime have followed. In the two years, from 1966 to 1968, there was an increase of 46% in juvenile crime. It was estimated in 1968 that there would be 11,000 youths leaving school in the following ten years, with only 1,400 jobs available for them in Government, commerce and industry — and no gardening land for a large proportion of them.

In 1975 it is estimated that about one-half of the taxpayers have no land in spite of their legal entitlement. Because of the social and economic consequences of this disturbing situation the Methodist General Conference in Sydney in May 1975 expressed its sympathetic concern to the people of Tonga.

Migration to New Zealand, California, Hawaii, and elsewhere, has grown considerably but has done little to mitigate the population problem. Many of the large number of Tongans educated overseas return to find a social and cultural gap as well as difficulty in gaining suitable employment. Tourism has given limited relief, in the sale of artifacts as well as fruit and vegetables. Against this are ill-effects arising from contact with the undesirable types of tourists.

Faced with economic conditions which affect the people's moral and religious well-being, the Church has had to re-assess its own situation and its impact on the community. It has failed to increase in proportion to the growth of population. In 1926 the Free Wesleyan Church was 59%, in 1956 49.75%, in 1966 49.85%. The Mormons who were 2.3% in 1931 were 7.15% in 1966. In 1966 the Roman Catholics were 15.9%, the Free Church 14.3%, Church of Tonga 8.9%, Seventh Day Adventists 1.08%. New sects, including Pentecostalists, Jehovah's Witnesses and Baha'i, have entered the country.

The Free Wesleyan Church finds some satisfaction in the quality of its ministry and in the development of its organization. In 1970 it had 13 ministers with L.Th. diplomas, three with Diplomas in Religious Education (Melbourne College of Divinity), one Bachelor of Arts, two Bachelors of Divinity, one Doctor of Divinity. The Pacific Theological College in Suva, for advanced theological education, is supported by the Free Wesleyan Church and other Churches in many Pacific Islands groups. Greater attention has been given to improved organization and literature for Sunday Schools and youth groups. The Friendly Islands Bookshop was established in 1973 through the initiative of the Connexional Secretary, John M. Connan, B.Sc., B.D., to provide more material in English and Tongan for a people increasingly capable of benefiting from good literature.

At the local level religion still plays a major part in the Tongans' family and community life. The teachings and methods of the early missionaries have been continued, with the opportunities these have provided for singing, extemporaneous prayer and testimony in the services and "class meetings" that suit the Tongans' temperament. New forms, especially for young people, such as the Christian Endeavour Society, have been added. The three Churches which have sprung from the Wesleyan stock have generally followed the same pattern. What is distressing is the spectacle of division in even small villages. Two, and sometimes three, congregations worship simultaneously and not far apart from each other, using similar hymns and forms of worship, proclaiming the same doctrines, observing the same procedures — early Sunday morning prayer-meeting, two Sunday services, Sunday School, mid-week service, mid-week prayer meetings, "class meetings" for members, and the ever-popular choir practices. In many villages in recent years the rivalry has been worsened by the presence of other denominations also, with a total of five, six or more in some villages.

89: Wood M,Y-4,5 (1924-1937) 1975
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the Papua-New Guinea Highlands. John Fiusati, L.Th., also a missionary in the Highlands, like Mone, died soon after returning to Tonga. 797

The Church in Tonga has received wholehearted support from distinguished lay members of Conference who placed the interests of the Church first always in their objectives. Among these were Solomon Ata, who succeeded Prince Tungi as Premier, Moulton Finau Fisi'ihoi, lawyer and veteran member of Parliament, John Phillip Tongilava, the Queen's Secretary for more than thirty years, William Mataka 'Umufuke and Jonathan Tupou, prominent civil servants, all now deceased. 794 795

Two of the leaders today typify the dedication of the Church to its tasks. The Secretary of Conference is Siupeli Taliai, B.A., Dip.Ed., L.Th., still a comparatively young man, and first Tongan to be Principal of Tupou College with its enrolment of 700. Unusually energetic and forthright in religious and educational affairs alike, he insists on challenging the people always to obey the one Master, Jesus Christ, whose will should determine the course Tonga is setting — in family life, in the church and the nation. 795 873 771

The President of Conference since 1970 is John 'Amanaki Havea, B.D., of Drew Theological Seminary, U.S.A. and Doctor of Divinity (St. Paul's University, Tokyo). Son of the saintly John Havea, brother of Paul Havea of the Solomons, he breathes the same spirit of complete devotion. Except for Setaleki Manu, President for the year of reunion, 1924, 'Amanaki is the first Tongan President. He was also the first Tongan Principal of Sia'atoutai Theological College. He was chosen Chairman of the first Conference of Pacific Churches in 1960 and held that office until 1971. In 1972 he was elected one of the eight Presidents of the World Methodist Council, the only representative on the presidium from Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific Islands. His sagacity and his wide experience have won him the respect and esteem of his own people.

'Amanaki and Siupeli are the third generation of ministers in their families. Sau Faupula was the fourth in his family line. No Church shows more clearly than the Free Wesleyan Church of Tonga the influence of the families of ministers from whom one generation after another has drawn its Church leaders. So the goodly succession runs. In such leadership and with the people's response lies the hope of the Church for the future.

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(1) Luke, H., *Queen Salote and Her Kingdom*, p.77. [113]

91: Urbanowicz E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1977
OU9 Tonga OU9

5

Tourism in Tonga: Troubled Times

CHARLES F. URBANOWICZ

The Kingdom of Tonga lies in the heart of fabled Polynesia, approximately 550 miles southwest of Samoa and 450 miles southeast of Fiji. The tiny kingdom encompasses approximately 289 square miles and supports an estimated (1973) population of 100,105—an average density of more than 346 persons per square mile. However, the actual usable land available for settlement is only 190 square miles, giving a true population density of 532 persons per square mile. The population is not evenly distributed and the largest island of the group, Tongatapu (100 square miles with a population of 52,000) is the economic center for the archipelago. This island has also been the historic residence of the aboriginal (Royal) leaders, and Nuku'alofa—the largest city, the capital, and the main tourist target—is located there.

Formerly a British protectorate, Tonga achieved independence in 1970 and entered the British Commonwealth of Nations. The Constitutional Monarchy dates to 1875 and the current monarch, His Majesty King Taufa'ahau Tupou IV, acceded to the throne in 1965. Tongan is the official language, English is the second language and most Tongans are bilingual. The population is also ethnically uniform: 98 percent of the population are Tongans, and all are stalwart Christians. The 1966 census listed 77,429 inhabitants, only 61 of whom failed to declare a religious affiliation.

Tourism is nascent in Tonga, but the number of visitors is increasing annually due to extensive overseas promotions that stress, in colorful brochures, the beauty of "unspoiled" Polynesia, where English is spoken and where there is a "real live King (and Queen)." Although Tonga is the last surviving Polynesian Kingdom, it is far from being the "storybook" land of the culture brokers. It is an overpopulated and underdeveloped tiny nation, struggling to maintain its cultural integrity in the face of twentieth-century changes. There are serious internal economic problems in Tonga, for which tourism might be the panacea. This case study

Out of 111 babies examined in one day recently only two had signs of scabies. Yaws seems to have vanished. 744 743 855

A main concern is to persuade Tongan mothers to keep up breast feeding and to teach them how to prepare supplementary foods for the weaning process; it is conjectured that the decrease in the mother's diet of healthy native foods in favour of inferior imported food, such as white bread, has weakened lactation. 164 853 262 178

For the outlying islands there are occasional visits by the Child Welfare Nurse as well as the services of the A.M.O.; Ha'apai and Vava'u each has a Tongan-trained nurse who reports to the Child Welfare Nurse.

Church The Pivot Of Village Life

The Church has done incalculable service in Tonga and still remains the pivot of village life. 771

With the inspiring leadership of the Queen, the Royal Family and the Chiefly administrators with their fine standards of propriety and dignity, the Kingdom of Tonga pursues its life of dedication to the welfare of its people, to the true husbandry of its land, and to the character training of its rising generation. 181

In this gay, trustworthy, generous and hospitable community one finds that harmony and gracious living so lacking in a world grown weary through selfishness, greedy ambition and disillusionment.

[P. 28-D]

181 /28 cont./
805 clock, so that the duration of the service will not exceed or fall
794 short of the prescribed length. (45)
177
[202]

45. On Nomuka, for example, the shrill ringing of the alarm clock often breaks into the final hymn.

All faiths in Tonga, especially the recently become independent Tongan churches, practice such punctuality, even though on most islands it has been many years since a white person has influenced the course of church life. This type of exactness is part of the Tongan religious feeling. The fact that this punctuality in church worship, practiced for decades, has not encroached on daily life proves this.

181 In general, the Tongan shows a piety which is undoubtedly not
791 inferior to that of his forefathers in pagan times, (46)
177

46. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. pp. 120/121, 135, also I. p. 108.

which probably increased during the change brought about by the influence of missions, and perhaps became even more profound because the new religion, Christianity, promised immortality even to commoners. (47)

47. A more specific description of changes in the religious area in the chapter on "Religion" pp. 369 ff.

181 The majority of Tongans are today definitely churchminded. However,
791 as in pre-Christian times, (48)

48. For example, J. Martin, loc, cit. I. pp. 159, 389.

there are definitely cases of skepticism /29/ about divine omnipotence, augmented to the point of open criticism or emphatic disbelief. (49)

49. Non-churchgoers, opposition to ecclesiastical moral code, atheism.

181 The Tongans have always been excellent speakers. Even for a
537

/245 cont./

436 within the community. Yet up to the present time the old feeling of
177 solidarity of the Tongans proved to be stronger, especially on the
178 small islands where those who, for instance, give plantation
182 products to their neighbors only for money are regarded as alien elements in the village community. In and around the chief towns,
(432) however, selling of food is already taken for granted, but at the
(574) same time community feeling has not been destroyed in these settlements; for example, every Tongan can enter here a house uninvited and take part in a meal.

Thus money has become an important economic factor in Tonga. The natives have become accustomed to it to a certain extent. In the harbor towns of the Archipelago, especially, money has brought about certain changes and has had, in part, a negative, though as yet a limited influence on the old community life. An average Tongan, however, does not have the attitude toward money characteristic of a European. The reasons for this lies not only in the more even-
(181) tempered, casual manner of these natives and in the fact that thinking in terms of money and self-interest are contrary to the Tongan tradition, but especially in the fact that today, as in old times, they can still live without money. Although every Tongan man and woman, even on the smallest islands of the Archipelago, comes into contact with money, some of these natives do not have a penny, for they live chiefly on their land and can ask relatives or neighbors for whatever they need from the outside world.

/246/

4. THEIR RELIGION

771 As for the religion of the Tongans, the strongest European
177 influences (missions) are to be noted, which have led to a fundamental
799 change in this field.

772 The ancient Polynesian (and the ancient Tongan) conception of the

/247 cont./

776 annoying ills and troubles of everyday life, quite in contrast to the
784 high gods who caused great misfortune to come to human beings as punishment for their crimes.

784 The Polynesian conception of taboo included prohibition, avoidance
(191) and abstention (659)

659. H. Nevermann, loc. cit. p. 73.

was effective in religious, social and economic life. In ancient Tonga the "tapu" was the most important controlling power. One may distinguish between a "permanent tapu," which, for example, applied to sanctuaries, chiefs and those of higher rank in general, and a "temporary tapu," (660)

660. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 231 f.; E.W. Gifford, Tongan Society. p. 342.

which chiefs, and priests as well, could inflict (at the command of their respective gods) and could also revoke. (661)

661. For instance, in the case of field products because of a forthcoming festival or an anticipated period of shortage.

Willful violation of a taboo, according to Tongan belief, was punished by the gods with death, while unconscious violation could be revoked by elaborate ceremonies.

776 In Tonga there was a general belief that all life and well-being
784 was absolutely dependent on the gods, and that sickness and misery
791 were divine punishments for the neglect of religious duties or for other offences and crimes, especially since, in the view of these natives, everything was paid for on this earth and there were no punishments in the life beyond. (662)

662. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 107.

791 Aside from a few large and recurring acts of worship, (663)

(651) 663. For example, the 'inasi, namely, the offering of first fruits to the Tu'itonga (see ibid. p. 207 ff.).

/247 cont./

p. 207 ff.).

which were closely associated with the high chiefs, there was no systematic worship of the gods. There were few temples on the islands; they did not differ greatly from the dwellings of the chiefs. Only a few wooden figures of gods existed in the Archipelago. The (shamanlike) /248/ priests played a subordinate role and were by no means united in a special, powerful rank. (664)

664. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 145 ff.

They were inspired by the gods which each priest served; the chiefs asked them for counsel and the sick and dying were brought in front of their dwellings so that they might induce the gods to heal them. In order to dispose the gods favorably toward the recovery of the sufferers, their relatives of lower rank offered joints of their little fingers (or parts of the fingers), (665)

665. See J. Martin, loc. cit. I. p. 454; II. pp. 222/223.

and if all pleading and even the finger sacrifices were unable to save the dying chief, then a child of one's circle of relatives was strangled in order to dispose the gods to be merciful by means of this supreme sacrifice. (666)

666. Ibid. I. pp. 378 ff., 454; II. p. 220 ff. If a specially serious crime was committed, the natives also tried to avert disaster threatened by the gods through a child sacrifice (ibid. I. p. 228 ff.).

In Tongan society there are few examples of definite disbelief (667)

667. See E.W. Gifford, Tongan society. p. 347; J. Martin, loc. cit. I. pp. 159, 338/339. II. p. 1 ff.

and although perhaps not all commoners could become reconciled to their lot of complete extinction after death, (668)

100: Koch--375 E-4,5 (1951-1952) 1955 OU9 Tonga OU9

/248 cont./

668. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 136.

nevertheless, the great majority of all strata of the population believed firmly and unshakably in the power of the gods and obediently subordinated themselves to the supposed expression of their will and especially to the taboos--until the missionaries, through skillful and systematic work, destroyed this religion and Christianized the Tongan people.

After unsuccessful missionary attempts of the London Mission Society (1797/99) and of the Wesleyans (1822/23), the latter, in 1826, renewed their work of conversion and, through zealous and purposeful work, succeeded in completing most of their Christinization of the entire Archipelago by the year 1852. They, like their churches, were Anglo-Saxon puritanical missionaries, and preached Christianity with an Old Testament coloring. Despite all kinds of difficulties and, in part, stubborn resistance and distrust on the part of the Tongans, they achieved their goal by winning over influential chiefs and by demonstrating the impotence of the Tongan gods. No resistance was possible from a united, consolidated priesthood, since this did not exist. However, the chiefs who feared the loss of their old powerful supremacy were a strong obstacle, as were all those who, consciously or unconsciously, felt that Christianization would mean the loss of ancient Tongan values. On the other hand, during their contact with Europeans, the Tongans came to know their superiority in many areas of life, /249/ and some natives believed that the whites owed their superior knowledge, their might and wealth to the special power of their gods, and they were therefore willing to listen to the new teaching. In the personality of Chief Taufa'ahau, finally, the Wesleyan missionaries found an invaluable aid in the conversion of the Tongans. In 1842, Catholic missionaries also started their work on Tongatapu; they came too late to be able to

/249 cont./

develop an effectiveness comparable to the Wesleyans who at that time had already been working intensively for 16 years. But even they converted a number of Tongans to their faith and were able to found a few congregations, especially since they embraced a few heathen chiefs whom the Wesleyan Tongans, for political reasons, regarded as hostile, and because they often proved more tolerant then the Methodists. The year 1852 then brought the final consolidation of a Christianized, peaceful and united Kingdom of all the Tonga Islands under the aforementioned Taufa'ahau who, as King George Tupou I, ruled into the 90s of the 19th century. (669)

669. See p. 158 ff.; for the history of the missionization of the Tonga Archipelago see also G. Koch, "Die fruhen europaischen Einflusse auf die Kultur der Bewohner der Tonga-Inseln" /Early European influences on the culture of the inhabitants of the Tonga Islands/, manuscript dissertation, Gottingen 1949. pp. 70-83.

Today all Tongans are Christians so much as a matter of course and with such devotion that their old religion is almost completely forgotten. The ancient Tongan conception of the world with the idea of high and low beings has been replaced by the Christian ideas of the good (pleasing to God) and the evil (satanic). The idea of the phantom-being that characterized only the nobility has been superseded by the belief in the individual eternal soul of all ranks of Tongans and the resurrection of the body. The conviction that all misdeeds were punished only on earth and that the phantom-being of nobles alone led a paradisiac life in distant pulotu was replaced by the Christian doctrine of divine justice not only in this world, of damnation and hell, of slavation and heaven. Instead of the virtually countless Tongan gods there is only one almighty God (in a Trinity which, to be sure, is difficult to comprehend). The

/249 cont./ The old, so greatly feared power of the tapu is gone. In place of this merely negative law of prohibition, of avoidance and abstention has come the idea of sanctity; though this also includes prohibition, its meaning is far more ethical then that of the tapu, for the sacred, the lofty and the godly is not so much "that which is dangerous, " but rather "that which is to be venerated." For the natives, the principle of sin and atonement of all human beings was also new; this meant /250/ a considerable change in the ancient Tongan idea of the deity, since the gods were not ideal beings beyond good and evil, and did not punish sins (in the Christian sense). The old belief in the absolute dependence of human beings on the gods who sent illness and suffering as punishment for the neglect of religious duties and other transgressions, is today equivalent to the conviction that God is almighty; suffering and sickness are regarded as blows of fate sent by God, though not merely in the sense of punishment, but of trial and purification. Whereas in the past there were few rites and no formalized general veneration of the gods in Tonga, there are today several churches on all the inhabited islands, and the natives take part in the numerous church services conducted in accordance with their denominational procedure. The Tongan clergymen who serve the congregations are respected and influential in the community, in contrast to the rather unimportant ancient Tongan priests. The former sacrifices of the harvest, of fingers and of children have not been carried out for a long time, buy, in a sense, the very high donations to churches by members of the congregations may replace these. Today, as in the past, there is general devoutness, and only occasionally one comes across outspoken disbelief.

These comparisons, despite their brevity, may give an insight into the change that came about in Tonga in the field of religion,

/250 cont./

177 insofar it is theoretically clear and comprehensible; for even though
178 today one can observe devotion to Christian faith, it probably
179 takes on, as everywhere in the world, countless forms in the minds and attitudes of human beings, thus making generalizations difficult. Yet it can be said that the Christian religion with its main doctrines is today firmly rooted in Tonga. The natives, with their characteris-
[181] tic Polynesian emotionalism (which often increases to sentimentalism),
[152] give themselves wholeheartedly to this religion. They believe--or think they believe; for if their old religion with its tremendous number of gods was scarcely comprehensible to the individual, the Christian religion with its often complicated and abstract doctrines is perhaps even more difficult for the Tongans to understand. One may probably say: this native is a devout Christian insofar as he understands the Christian religion. (670)

670. According to a Catholic missionary questioned in Tonga, some Tongans are able to grasp the core of Christian doctrines, but very many do not understand them entirely. "We must simply try to get as far as we possibly can..." he said.

And even here, a reservation is necessary: the Tongan today thinks and feels like a Christian, especially during the church services and in his prayers, while his practical /251/ actions (for example, with regard to the observance of rules pertaining to marriage) sometimes seem to be dictated by other motives. This discovery, however, is probably nothing unusal, since it is more or less true not only of Tonga, but of all countries in which Christians live.

177 The old religion has been forgotten, except for a few surviving
178 remnants that seem insignificant and are similar to European
175 superstitions. Above all, the fear of ghosts is a religious heritage from the past. Many old people and even young ones avoid passing
[184] certain places (for example, cemeteries) in the dark. Even strong and

/251 cont./

771 775 178 intelligent men are convinced that spirits exist (671)

671. These are today known as tevolo (devils), as a result of mission work.

and are seized with cold fear, for example, while riding horseback at night in bushland. It sometimes happens that Tongans report [787] ghastly experiences which they allegedly had with such spirits. Some 771 178 natives also believe, as they did in the past, (672)

672. See J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 236.

787 825 that the call of the sikota bird announces disaster and that it embodies the voice of a dead person. The fata is similarly regarded [763] as a bird of death; if they hear it at night, the early death of a villager may be expected. The tapu that has degenerated to nothing 784 789 more than simple magic in the form of using taboo against theft on 685 178 field products and fruit trees by means of /attaching/ bunches of foilage (673)

[753] 673. Leaves wrapped in raw tapa (feta'aki) with a strip of feta'aki hanging on it to mark it; the thief stealing fruit on which a taboo has been placed is supposed to be punished with certain illnesses (for example, ulcers, paralysis).

was still used up to a few decades ago; today the natives rely on their own vigilance, and in places where they suspect plantation thefts they station cooperative groups of watchmen. (674)

[753] 674. See also pp. 99-102 on taboo in present-day Tonga; some natives also still believe that it is not good to take food leftovers and cigarettes from a chief; ulcers on the chin area are supposed to be the consequence.

773 178 The beautiful old myths are mostly forgotten, except for those that are today taught in the schools and that have kept the character of fairy tales that people like to listen to but that they do not believe to be true. When earthquakes, which are frequent in Tonga,

/253 cont./

795 the Catholic church, and that conversely Catholics do the same, that
578 members of the Free Wesleyan Church actively help one of the dissenting churches build their church (as happened on Nomuka, for example, in 1951/52) and that Wesleyans send their children to Catholic schools (and vice versa). The Tongans are, after all, too even-tempered to let serious inner conflicts arise just because each of the seven
795 churches regards its doctrine to be the only true one. They belong
794 to a church and give themselves more or less to its services and find
791 inner contentment therein. And if they do not find this, if for some reason they are dissatisfied and learn of the very convincing doctrine of another church, they will simply change over. However, such transfers are not frequent enough to cause a continuing turnover amongst the membership of the individual church communities.

346 In an average Tongan village there are perhaps three or four
197 (five) churches. They are either simple structures shaped like larger dwellings of ancient Tonga style, roofed over and covered with interwoven halved coconut palm leaves (pola) or provided with board walls, glass windows and corrugated iron roofs, or they are simple European-type rectangular frame houses (with corrugated iron roofs) or, in rare cases, buildings resembling European churches, made of coral limstone, sand and cement, or of reinforced concrete with a regular church steeple. (676)

676. The Catholic church of Pangai/Lifuka, for example, was built in the 20s of this century in the style of a French village church, and even has a steeple clock. The Catholic church of Fungamisi/Vava'u, built in 1946 of reinforced concrete, has a steeple 16 meters high. In 1952 the Wesleyans completed the largest church building of the Archipelago in Nuku'alofa (Tongatapu), a modern-style reinforced concrete construction which is huge by their standards.

346 The interiors of the Wesleyan churches vary from simple seat mats on
352

794 /255 cont./ Although the younger
883 Tongans generally have a similar attitude toward the church as the older ones, there are a few among them who are freer (680)

680. Some young Tongans, for example, attend the Wesleyan services only on Sunday.

and more critical, and some who are even skeptical; it is difficult to say whether this is the beginning of a certain change (that is, a weakening of the old zealous faith), or whether it is merely an attitude that can be attributed to the youth of the persons in question, which will change as they grow older and will become more stable in the religious sense.

791 In summarizing we may therefore conclude: The ancient Tongan
197 religion is a thing of the past except for a few insignificant surving elements, and Christianity has become an essential factor in the life of all Tongans whose religious needs are obviously being satisfied by the churches, and whose zealous devoutness is today probably stronger than in many traditional Christian countries.
[999] Although the missionaries destroyed the belief in the ancient gods and the effectiveness of the tapu which cast its shadow over all of life, this did not mean a disruption and a catastrophe in the lives
[829] of the Tongans. For in place of the old that was overthrown there was immediately something new that was highly revered and they could believe in, all the more so because Christianity seemed to the natives the reason for Europe's so successful development. (681)

681. During their conversion the bible was often regarded as the source of ability and power, and thus they were very willing to learn to read.

[565] Since the commoners were recognized as having the same status before God, the same prospects for a life in the next world as did the nobles, the population could be won over to the new religion all the more
[799] easily. The present findings show that the great majority of Tongans are very devout Christians, hence the goal of the early missionaries

/255 cont./

771 177 [797] in this Archipelago was reached; the discrepancy occasional observed between belief and action is doubtless a universal attribute of human nature.

/256/ The change in Tongan religion is thus merely an exchange of the old belief in supernatural powers for a new belief in divine omnipotence. At the same time we must not forget that Christianization strengthened and deepened the religiousness of this people.

5. THEIR ART AND THEIR PLAY

A. Music, Poetry and Dance

764 349 643 The visual arts were not very highly developed in ancient Tonga. Noteworthy are only the step pyramids (langi) (682)

682. See also W.C. McKern, Archaeology of Tonga /cited in English/. p. 33 ff.

built up out of coral limestone plates, in which the supreme rulers, the Tu'i Tonga (and their high-ranking relatives) were once interred, as well as the large trilithon "Ha'amonga 'a Maui," a gate-shaped stone structure (probably around 1200 A.D.) at Kolonga/Tongatapu. 532 Aside from that, only the few wooden sculptures of gods are to be mentioned.

341 532 178 In present-day Tonga there are no visual arts, since such works of architecture and sculpture have not been created for a long time because of political and religious changes in the Archipelago, and the modern period has apparently given no impetus to such efforts.

533 538 The musical and poetic arts, on the other hand, were carried on in the pre-European era to a great extent. Ancient Tongan music and explorers and the great seafarers who came after them. Europeaniza- [177] [797] tion, especially the Wesleyan Christianization of these islands, however, brought a change and also a suppression of these arts which therefore appear today in an essentially altered form.

533 Song was quite popular in ancient Tonga. The natives sang

/274 cont./ Many older Tongan men and
805 829 women still /275/ can not tell their age, (748)

748. Years were not counted in ancient Tongan times (see ibid. p. 164).

whereas members of the middle-aged generation and especially the young
212 are mostly able to give their exact year of birth. For most of the natives reading is limited to the study of the bible and other church
(205) writings. The average native needs to write only when he has to sign his name to a document; they seldom write a letter to a relative or friend, although there is postal service in the Archipelago.

772 823 177 The conception of the world (749)

749. In ancient Tongan times the natives apparently visualized the world as flat with abrupt precipices on the edges (see J. Martin, loc. cit. II. p. 134), and they believed there were a number of superimposed sky-domes (see E.E.V. Collcott, Collcott, "Tongan astronomy"... pp. 157/158). For the natives their Archipelago was, of course, the most important of all island territories and, in a way, the center of their known world.

of these islanders was changed fundamentally not only by their Christianization, (750)

750. See p. 375 ff.

772 177 but also by the knowledge imparted in their schools. The knowledge and belief of the whites took the place of the old myths and tales. Geography and history, cosmology (751)

(821) 751. Modern cosmology, however, did not lead to a revival of a thorough knowledge of the stars which the old Tongans had and which was lost through the use of the compass (see E.E.V. Collocott, "Tongan astronomy..." pp. 157/158).

and European division of time brought a rational conception of the world which was relatively well understood and adopted by many natives. For
(771) (212) (538) most of these natives it is not to be separated from the religious conception of the world of Christianity in which it seems embedded

/275 cont./

772 and to which school-knowledge of these natives is still to a large
771 extent subordinated--in accordance with the wishes of the early mission-
177 aries; even the art of reading, for the majority of present-day Tongans
212 is--as it was more than a century ago--almost exclusively meant for bible
538 study and the reading of other church literature, since there is still no secular literature in the Tongan language.

871 The Tongan school system has constantly expended and increased. Today there is compulsory education for all children between the ages
872 of six and fourteen, with free school attendance. In 1950 (752)

(113) 752. See Report of the Department of Education for the Year 1950 /cited in English/. Nuku'alofa 1951. p.1.

there were 134 elementary schools on the Islands; 70 of them were run by the government, 35 by the Free Wesleyan Church, 21 by the Roman Catholic Church, four by the Adventists, two by the Free Church (Wesleyan), one by the Anglican Church and one by the Mormons. In them 335 teachers taught 10,626 boys and girls. (753)

753. Ibid. p. 1.

/276/ These schools, like the English elementary schools, teach basic knowledge; some subjects are adapted to specific Tongan needs. Teaching includes: arithmetic (addition, subtraction, multiplication, division, fractions), English (reading, spelling, translation, dictation, grammar, composition, letter-writing), Tongan language (reading, dictation, composition), hygiene (and first aid), geography (the Tonga-Archipelago and the Pacific), history (especially of Tonga), nature study (plants and animals), music (singing, scales), penmanship, drawing, gymnastics, agriculture (once a week plantation work), (sewing) and Tongan handcraft (plaiting, making tapa printing plates,
(994) woodwork such as boat models and paddles, etc.). The schools organized by the churches also give religious instruction. Teaching is done in

/297 cont./

In Samoa, too, new professions such as pastor, physician (Samoan medical practitioner /cited in English/), teacher, administrative official and shopkeeper, have arisen as a result of European influence on the Islands. However, only a few natives, probably fewer than in Tonga, have begun to carry on in business; their traditional community system does not by any means favor such individual enterprises. These changes have thus far had no great influence on the economic life of the masses of Samoans. As in Tonga, such an influence should not be seen in the use of money, though this is widespread in the Archipelago as a result of copra, cocoa and banana sales, and it has even entered into their customs in the most remote villages, (17)

17. For example at weddings, the exchange of a rather large sum of money (family of the bridegroom) and Samoan goods (family of the bride).

yet has nowhere made the natives absolutely dependent on money, nor has it resulted in a true cash economy. Every Samoan--like every Tongan--can still, if necessary, live in his village without money. (18)

18. Thanks to their social and economic system.

and there is scarcely any methodical use of money, (19)

19. For example, although the population doubled from 1921 to 1947, the total production of copra remained the same during this period (see Department of External Affairs, Western Samoa 1947. p. 43).

because it does not fit in with the character and needs of these people and because the old community system has been preserved /298/ and has hitherto proved stronger than the corrupting effect of money.

The old Samoan religion, like that of the Tongans, was obliterated long ago (likewise approximately a century ago), and Christianity has permeated the life of these natives; only insignificant remnants of their

GT 436 199 /321 cont./ after having promptly spent it following their cotton harvest.

GT 771 199 Christianity is today the religion of almost all the Baganda. It has become for them the obvious way of coming to terms with the supernatural. The Christian religion means a great deal to these natives, they have a similar, precise knowledge of the bible as the Tongans and--as in that Archipelago--in places where they have no European supervision they carry on their ritual of worship independently under the leadership of native Anglican and Catholic clergymen. As among the Islanders, here too the promise of paradise, as well as the association of this religion with the glamor of the European, and finally the wish for social recognition and representation may be the chief reasons why the Christian faith was adopted. In Buganda, as in the Tonga Archipelago, the old religion is no longer publicly practiced though, according to reports at hand, the conversion of the people of this country does not seem to be as complete. Along with inconsequential remnants of "paganism," which among the Christian natives are scarcely more important than the surviving remnants of the old religion in Tonga, /322/ the belief in the spirits of their ancestors which has been so important in the African kingdom has been largely preserved, and even the significance of magic powers and of sorcery could be only weakened by the church and government laws, but by no means extinguished; this seems noteworthy in view of the fact that in Tonga the power of the once so all-embracing taboo has long since been broken and forgotten.

GT 771 199 GT 777 199 GT 778 199

GT 868 871 199 With regard to the transmission of knowledge, conditions in Buganda have changed in similar fashion as in the Tonga Archipelago: Their way of growing into the various tasks of life through simple imitation of older people and without particular systematic instruction has here too been supplemented by a European type of school

/325 cont./

177 of goods--change of material cultural possessions; European tools--decline of the ancient handicrafts [ornaments, dwellings, boat building]).

177 Special circumstances facilitated or made possible the cultural 797 change in Tonga. For example, the heads of government in the [643] Archipelago, at the beginning of stronger European influences (missionization), lost their actual power as a result of the historical development of the island kingdom. Furthermore, the Christianization [793] of the people was favored by the absence of a powerful Tongan [791] priesthood and by a certain laxity at the time in the worship of their gods.

177 On the other hand, the impact of European influences was, for various reasons, moderated or made impossible.

Thus, the Europeans in this Archipelago did not exert as much pressure as they did on some other primitive peoples. There was no particular decimation of Tongans through sickness, alcohol or terroristic attacks. Only relatively few Europeans came to these islands, and the natives kept a certain independence. The whites have not taken away their land, either in the past or in the present, and there were no violent European repression or extermination operations comparable to those in Tasmania, Australia and North America. Moreover, the whites did not exploit (or deport) Tongans workers, nor did they establish larger enterprises here. Since the Tongans have a kingdom of their own with relatively great freedom of self-determination and, moreover, only a small number of Europeans live in the Archipelago, the danger of friction between browns and whites has been slight up to the present time.

Within the framework of this development some areas of Tongan culture have experienced but weak European influences, and since the natives have not become acquainted with European culture in its